ORIGINES ANGLICANÆ:

OR, A

HISTORY

OF THE

English Church.

Beginning where

Biſhop *STILLINGFLEET*

Has ended his

Hiſtory of the *Britiſh* Church.

And Containing

An Account of the Affairs thereof, from the firſt planting of the Chriſtian Religion amongſt the *Engliſh Saxons*, till the *Norman* Conqueſt.

By JOHN INETT, D.D. Chanter and Reſidentiary of the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majeſty.

LONDON,

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FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

TO THE

QUEEN.

MADAM,

HAving endeavoured to Reſcue the Hiſtory of the Antient English Church, from the Errors and Miſtakes occaſioned by the Ignorance or Superſtition of ſome, and the unworthy Attempts of others to give a Wrong turn to it: And ſo far as my Circumſtances, and the diſtance of Time would permit me to ſet it in a true Light: I think it a part of my Duty to lay this Work at Your Majeſty's Feet. And therein to offer to Your Royal View the Piety and Munificence of Your Anceſtors, in the Founding and Endowment of that Church, which, after a long courſe of Time, and many Changes now happily flouriſhes under Your Majeſty's Government.

Your Majeſty's known Piety and Zeal for Our Holy Religion, and the Church of England, as it is now Reform'd from the Errors of Popery, give me ground to hope, that You will be pleaſed to receive a Work into your Protection, which had its beginning from a

ſincere

ſincere deſire to do it ſervice, by ſhewing that the Doctrines moſt earneſtly contended for, by thoſe in Communion with the Church of Rome, *were no part of the receiv'd Doctrine of the Antient* Engliſh *Church.*

I ſhall preſume no further on Your Majeſty's Time and Goodneſs, but to beſeech Almighty God, who hath rais'd Your Majeſty to the Throne of Your Anceſtors, that He would long continue Your Majeſty a Bleſſing to this Church and Nation; and that He would be pleaſed, in his own good time, to conſummate the Bleſſings theſe Nations enjoy under Your Majeſty's happy Government, by giving Your Majeſty the ſatisfaction to ſee all Your People live in Peace and Unity, and become better by Your Majeſty's Encouragement and Example. Which is the Prayer of,

MADAM,

Your MAJESTY'S

Moſt Obedient and

Dutiful Subject

and Chaplain,

JOHN INETT.

TO THE READER.

THough it may be ſaid with Modeſty, that the whole Reformation ſtands indebted to the Church of *England* for the great and ſucceſsful Services done by thoſe of her Communion, in the defence of our common Faith; yet it cannot be denied, that the Hiſtory and Antiquities of the *Engliſh* Church, have not been ſo carefully look'd into ſince the Reformation, as the Defence and Honour of our Holy Mother ſeem to have required from us.

In the mean time, the Enemies of our Holy Religion, unable to ſtand the Reaſonings of thoſe who have made it their buſineſs to defend it, take Sanctuary in our Antiquities; and no Induſtry hath been wanting to miſlead our Story, and force our Fathers to riſe up againſt their Children.

Polidore Virgil lived, and wrote his Hiſtory in the beginning of the Reformation; but, beſides his retiring out of *England* ſo ſoon as the Reformation was eſtabliſhed, he hath left us other Reaſons enough to believe he was an Enemy to it. As for the Hiſtory of *Harpsfield*, it was wrote preſently after the Reformation; and, in all appearance, with a deſign, if not to over-turn it, yet at leaſt to ſully and reproach it, and diſparage the change it introduc'd, and which he himſelf had ſuffer'd under. And the Spirit and Character of the Man, and the Air and Turn of his Diſcourſe, put it beyond a doubt, that this was the Deſign of Father *Parſons*, in his Hiſtory of the three Converſions.

And what *Baronius* hath publiſhed, relating to the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church, is ſo viſibly turned to ſerve the Intereſt and Pretenſions of the Court of *Rome*, that the greateſt Admirers of that Learned and Uſeful Work do not pretend to deny it.

And one who but caſts his Eyes on the Annotations of ſome of thoſe Learned Foreigners, by whom the

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World hath been obliged, for ſeveral Editions of the Councils, cannot but be ſenſible, that ſome of their Notes on the *Engliſh* Councils ſeem purpoſely deſigned to give that part of our Hiſtory ſuch a turn as may beſt fit it to the preſent Uſages and Opinions of the *Romiſh* Church.

As for the later Writers of our Story, thoſe in Communion with the Church of *Rome* are ſo far from diſavowing their Partiality, that Mr. *Creſſey*, and the Writer of the *Saxon Annals*, Mr. *Alsford*, ſeem to value themſelves for their unworthy treatment of the Reformed Church of *England*, and appear rather to have laboured the defence of the Church of *Rome*, than to give a juſt Hiſtory of the ancient *Engliſh* Church.

But whilſt the Enemies to the Church and Religion of *England* have been thus active to give a wrong turn to our Hiſtory, a great deal has been done to prevent their Deſigns; for if thoſe late Learned Writers are not too forward, who, contrary to the general Opinion of the Age in which that Work was publiſhed, will not allow Archbiſhop *Parker* to be the Author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*; yet it cannot be denied that Poſterity is exceedingly indebted to that Learned and Worthy Prelate, for reſcuing ſo many Noble Monuments of the *Engliſh* Antiquities, from the Fate of the Monaſteries from whence they were taken; for publiſhing ſome of them and preſerving more; and by his Favour and Authority giving all encouragement to the Study of our Hiſtory and Antiquities.

And the Generoſity of thoſe Learned Men Sir *Henry Saville*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *Roger Twiſden*, Mr. *Cambden*, Mr. *Selden*, and Mr. *Wheelock*, the late Learned Dean of *York*, Dr. *Gale*, and Mr. *Wharton*, by whoſe Charge or Labours great numbers of our Hiſtorians have been communicated to the World ought never to be forgotten.

But beſides the Hiſtories which have been printed, thoſe which yet remain in Manuſcript, and are to be found in the Collections owing to Archbiſhop *Parker* and the *Cotton* Family, are a Treaſure the Nation has reaſon to boaſt of; and from theſe Noble Treaſuries a deal has been done towards our Church-Hiſtory, by Mr. *Fox*, the Learned Collector of the *Britiſh* Councils, that

Learned

Learned and Indefatigable Prelate Archbiſhop *Uſher* and Mr. *Fuller*; yet ſtill we are ſo far from a juſt Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Church, that Mr. *Wharton*, in his Preface to the firſt Volume of the *Anglia Sacra*, doth not only lament our unhappineſs herein, but ſpent his Fortune, and, to the publick loſs, too ſoon laviſhed out his Life, to oblige his Country with Materials for our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; and declares this to be the great deſign of thoſe uſeful Volumes, which, with infinite Labour he reſcued from the Moths and Duſt.

And the late Learned Prelate, Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, an Honour to our Nation, and it may be one of the beſt Judges of things of this kind that any Nation ever produced, was ſo ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſuch an undertaking, that he thought it a Task worthy of his own Time and Pains; and in his *Origines Britannicæ*, not only obliged the World with the Hiſtory and Antiquities of the *Britiſh* Church, but in his Preface to that Work, gave us hopes of receiving the Hiſtory of the *Engliſh Saxon* Church from the ſame Hand; and had he lived to perform it, a Work of that kind from his Hand, would not only have deliver'd me from a drudgery that is not to be told with Modeſty; but have left it paſt a doubt, what great Services might have been done to the Church and Religion of *England*, by ſetting our Hiſtory in a true Light.

For theſe Reaſons one may be allowed to ſay, that a continuation of our Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, begun where the Learned Biſhop *Stillingfleet* has left it, can never want acceptance, but where the Faults of the Writer render ſuch a performance unworthy thereof. How far this Undertaking may deſerve ſuch cenſure, I muſt leave others to judge, and turn to give the Reader a ſhort view of the Work it ſelf.

And here, that he may not be deceived, I muſt not omit to ſay, that Things rather than Perſons have been the ſubject of my care; and therefore I muſt own, that I have not been ſo careful as others have been, in conveying down the Names and Succeſſions of the *Engliſh* Prelates: Not that I look upon it as a part of Hiſtory unworthy the care of the beſt Hiſtorian, but becauſe this hath been the chief Subject of almoſt all thoſe Writers, to whom we are indebted for the Hiſtories of thoſe

Ages,

Ages, which come within the compaſs of the preſent Undertaking. Beſides, the late Learned Publiſher of the *Anglia Sacra*, in his accurate Notes on the Hiſtories which he hath Publiſhed, hath taken great pains in rectifying the Miſtakes of our former Hiſtorians, and ſettling the Succeſſions of the *Engliſh* Biſhops: For theſe reaſons I did not think it fit to ſwell this Performance, and perplex the Reader by ſuch frequent Breaches in the Series of our Story, as this Particular would have requir'd, farther than is neceſſary to aſcertain the order of Time, and give a juſt turn and light to things.

I have alſo purpoſely omitted the relation of thoſe things which paſs for Miracles with ſome Men, and take up ſo much room in moſt of our Hiſtories, eſpecially in that of Mr. *Creſſey*; which I have declined, partly, that I might not preſume too far on the Faith and Candour of the Reader, by ſeeming to intitle GOD to things which upon a juſt view appear more like the Artifices or Inventions of Men, or at beſt their Errors and Miſtakes, than the efforts of the Divine Power, and which ſeem much better fitted to ſerve the Intereſts of Vanity or Superſtition, than to comport with the Wiſdom and Glory of GOD; and, partly, that I might not make other Men uneaſy, by frequent reflections on things which have a great ſhare in their Faith and Veneration.

Tho' I have endeavour'd to give ſome Account of the ancient *Engliſh* Monaſteries, and of the Intereſts and Conduct of the Monaſticks, yet I have purpoſely declined entring into the late Controverſies ſo warmly managed by the Religious, not only becauſe I had no time to looſe in ſuch a Cauſe; but becauſe it is evident, that the Monaſticks made a great figure in all the Weſtern Nations, before the *Benedictine* Rule was received: Beſides, the beſt of our earlieſt Writers give us no Marks by which to diſtinguiſh or aſcertain the Rules and Orders of the firſt *Engliſh* Monaſteries. And after the Rule of St. *Benedict* was brought into *England* by *Wilfrid*, Biſhop of *York*, the Account that *Bede*, in his Epiſtle to *Egbert*, Biſhop of *York*, gives of the Monaſteries of *England* in the Eighth Century, ſhews, that at that time the *Engliſh* Monaſteries were neither govern'd by the Rule of St. *Baſil* or St. *Benedict*; and if there

was

was any Rule more general and prevailing in the *Britiſh*, *Scotiſh*, and firſt *Engliſh* Monaſteries; that of St. *Martin*, Biſhop of *Tours*, ſeems to have the faireſt pretence: But for the moſt part the Wills of their Founders were the Rules by which they were governed; and theſe are ſo generally loſt or ſwallowed up in the received Rules of the later Ages, that we have not light enough to reſtore them to their true Authors, or make a juſt Judgment of them.

Beſides theſe Conſiderations which occaſion ſo much uncertainty and confuſion in the Accounts we have of thoſe Inſtitutions, and leave room enough for the endleſs Diſputes of thoſe who have leiſure to contend for the Antiquity and Honour of their ſeveral Rules and Orders; the Accounts we have thereof from the *Monaſticon*, and our own later Hiſtorians at home, and ſuch as have been publiſhed by the *Benedictines* abroad, render it wholly needleſs to ſpend time upon a Subject which has already had ſo much labour beſtowed upon it.

In theſe Omiſſions I have conſidered the Reader more than my ſelf; for when the Succeſſions of Kings and Biſhops, the Miracles aſcrib'd to Saints and their Reliques, the Founding and Endowment of Religious Houſes, the unuſual *Phænomina* of the Heavens, the uncommon Seaſons of the Year, Famines and Mortalities are all left out; what remains in the beſt Accounts we have of thoſe Ages, is ſo thin and meagre a Story, and that too ſo broken and interrupted, that the Writing of our Story looks like the Task of the *Iſraelites* in making Bricks without Straw; for the Materials are few and ſcattered; and as it is hard to find them, ſo it is harder to put them into order.

The Learned and Eloquent Writer of the Introduction to the Hiſtory of *England*, carries this Reflection a great deal farther; and does not ſtick to ſay in his Preface to that uſeful Work, *That our Story hath been written by ſuch mean and vulgar Authors, ſo tedious in their Relations, or rather Collections, ſo injudicious in the choice of what's fit to be told or to be let alone, with ſo little Order, and in ſo wretched a Stile, that as it is a ſhame to be ignorant in the Affairs of our own Country, ſo it is hardly worth the Time and Pains to be informed.*

But on the Writers of thoſe Ages which are the ſubject of the following Hiſtory, he beſtows greater degrees of Contempt, and ſaith, *They are few and mean, their Accounts are poorly given us, with little order or agreement of Times or Actions:* And ſeems ſo much to doubt, whether the Ages deſerved better Writers, that he not only beſtows upon them the Character of barbarous and illiterate, but ſaith, *Perhaps the rough courſe of thoſe lawleſs Times and Actions would have been too ignoble a ſubject for a good Hiſtorian.* And to give life and reliſh to a dead and taſteleſs Story, and put uncertainty and confuſion into order, are difficulties ſo hardly to be ſurmounted, eſpecially at this diſtance of time, that if the eſtabliſhed Reputation of this Learned and Ingenuous Author be ground enough to rely on, the Character he gives of the 'foreſaid Hiſtorians, and of the ſubjects of their Story, a very indifferent Account of the darker parts of our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory will need no excuſe; for this Age will not bear a Legend, and if Hiſtory and not Fiction be expected, there is no remedy but we muſt take up with ſuch imperfect Notices as our Records and Hiſtories afford.

Nor are thoſe obſerved by the 'foreſaid Writers the only diſadvantages our Story labours under; for Ignorance and Superſtition, not to ſay deſign, have occaſioned ſuch unhappy mixtures of Truth and Falſhood, that there is ſcarce any part of our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory but what comes to us ſo intermixt with Fables, and loaded with Vanity and Trifles, that it is no little difficulty to diſtinguiſh the one from the other; and whilſt one reſcues Truth, to ſet ſuch Marks upon the Error as ſhall at once juſtify the Hiſtorian in the choice of the one, and ſatisfy the Reader in his reaſons for rejecting the other. Beſides, a great part of our Story hath induſtriouſly been ſet in a wrong Light by ſome Great Men, who have devoted themſelves to the Service of the Court of *Rome*, and have left nothing unattempted to bring Antiquity to juſtify the Errors of that Church, or ſerve the Pretenſions of that Court; and that part of our Story, which comes to us in the beſt manner, has the air and dreſs of the Ages in which it was wrote, and a turn ſuited to the Notions that a wild and boundleſs Superſtition do commonly produce; and theſe Reaſons

ſons will put the Writer of our Hiſtory under a neceſſity of frequent Digreſſions, which to ſome Readers may appear tedious, and beſides the purpoſe; and yet it is impoſſible to do right to our Hiſtory, without diſcharging it from thoſe Legends and Tales which are thruſt into it, and rectifying thoſe Miſtakes which are owing to the Sentiments or Views of the Writers, or the prevailing Uſages and Opinions of the Ages in which they wrote.

Under theſe mighty diſadvantages, to ſay nothing of thoſe which my Duty and particular Obligations laid in my way, I have endeavoured both to reſcue Truth from Falſhood, and to deliver down the great and uſeful parts of our Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, diſcharged from Legends, and Fables, and Deſign, and ſo far as the Records and Memoirs we have remaining, and the opportunities I have had, would permit me to ſet the upper-part of the Hiſtory of the Church of *England* in its true Light; and, in particular, to give an Account of the time and manner of planting the Chriſtian Religion amongſt the *Engliſh Saxons*, and the Intereſts the Clergy from *Rome*, and the *Scots* from *Ireland* had in thoſe Converſions; to ſhew the difference betwixt the Churches of the *Romiſh* and *Scottiſh* Eſtabliſhment, the Time, the Ground, and Reaſon of their uniting, and the Conſequences thereof; to ſhew the Changes and Alterations in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the ancient *Engliſh*; to give the Reader a juſt Idea of their prevailing Uſages and Opinions, and mark out the Steps by which Superſtition and Corruption broke in, and advanced in the *Engliſh* Church; to ſhew the ſenſe the ancient *Engliſh* Church had of its own Rights and Authority, what meaſures of deference they paid to the Biſhops of *Rome*, and what part thoſe Prelates bore in the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church; and in ſhort, to give an Account (and ſo far as the Light we have would enable one) in due order of Time, of all thoſe Affairs wherein the Doctrine, and and Diſcipline, and Government of the Churches of *England* were concerned.

And where the barrenneſs of our own Story hath called me abroad, or where the intermixture of Truth and Falſhood, or giving ſome light to the Rights and Uſages of the Church have led me into digreſſions, I have

have endeavoured to take in ſuch Notices only, as by giving us a view of the Ages and Opinions, give ſome light to our own Hiſtory, and then only entertained the Reader with Reflections on the ancient Rights, Uſages, and Diſcipline of the Church, and dark Paſſages of our Story, when I thought them neceſſary to give him a juſt Idea of the Doctrines and Opinions of the ancient *Engliſh* Church, and more eſpecially in thoſe Points which have been the ſubject of Diſpute betwixt the Reformed Church of *England*, and thoſe in Communion with the Church of *Rome*.

In the great variety of Subjects, which a work of this kind neceſſarily leads one to, there is no doubt but ſome things will be left dark, eſpecially to thoſe who are not throughly acquainted with our Hiſtory, and the Diſcipline of the ancient Church; ſome things will be improperly expreſſed; ſome things material will be overſeen; ſome Miſtakes in Things, and more in Time will certainly eſcape; and this Work will, on theſe many Accounts, need the Candour and Pardon of the Reader. All I ſhall ſay to intitle me to his Charity is, That I have wrote honeſtly; and to ſay nothing of the Fatigue and Charge which unavoidably attend ſuch Undertakings, I may truly ſay I have ſacrificed a great part of my Time and Health to the Publick, without any other Views, but the Service of GOD and our Holy Religion, and the Honour of the *Engliſh* Church and Nation; and ſhall make no ſcruple to own and mend my Faults whenever I come to a ſight of them; and to wiſe and good Men, I hope there will need no other Apology: As for thoſe who have no patience to ſee their own Sloath reproached by the Labours of other Men, or who have ill nature enough to value themſelves for finding or expoſing the Miſtakes or Faults of others, I am equally prepared either to forgive or deſpiſe their Anger: But it is ſo much eaſier to find fault with Books than to write better, that if one was allowed to think of a Revenge, my reſentment would never carry me further, than to wiſh, that thoſe who find fault with this, would oblige their Country with a better Hiſtory of the ancient *Engliſh* Church.

To

To whom I have been obliged for the Materials, the Margin will for the moſt part direct; and the pains that have already been taken by the Learned Authors of the *Hiſtoria Literaria*, and of the *Engliſh* Hiſtorical Library; and what the World may expect from another Learned Writer of our own may reaſonably excuſe me from an Account of the Age and Characters of the Hiſtorians I have been obliged to; but I muſt not omit to add, that where the matter was out of diſpute, I have ſtudiouſly avoided to multiply Authorities; and in the choice of thoſe I have made uſe of, I have carefully endeavoured to take my Accounts from the Authors that lived in, or neareſt the time of Action; and in thoſe Things or Actions which have been the ſubject of Diſpute, betwixt the Churches of *England* and *Rome*, I have chiefly relied on the Authorities allowed by thoſe of the *Romiſh* Communion. And as in this Volume I have endeavoured to give a juſt Idea of the ancient *Engliſh* Church; and, in particular, to ſhew the ſenſe thereof with reſpect to its own Rights, Freedom, and Independance on the Biſhops of *Rome*; ſo if it pleaſe GOD to give me Health and Time, and ſuch Conveniencies as may enable me to finiſh my Account of the firſt Ages after the *Norman* Conqueſt, I ſhall hope to ſhew when, and by what Steps and Arts the Biſhops of *Rome* invaded the ancient Rights of the Church of *England*, and raiſed themſelves to a ſort of Sovereignty over the Weſtern Churches, and to mark out the Changes in the Doctrine and Diſcipline which thence inſued.

I ſhall add no more, but that I hope that this Work, however imperfect, may, in ſome meaſure, anſwer the Ends I have deſigned it for, the Honour of GOD and his Church; or at leaſt ſhew, that the Hiſtory of the firſt Ages is not ſo dead and taſtleſs, or barren, but that it may deſerve the Time and Pains of Men, who have more Leiſure and better Opportunities than I was ever Maſter of. This Conſideration, together with the great Labours which of late have been ſo ſucceſsfully laid out upon the *Saxon* Tongue, the late diſcovery of Manuſcripts which the Learned World chiefly owes to the Induſtry and Publick Spirit of our

own Nation; and the ſtudy of Antiquity which ſo much prevails at this time, as well Abroad as at Home, may, I hope, in time, produce perfect Hiſtories of the *Engliſh* Church and Nation; and it will be no little ſatisfaction to me, if I have done no more than provoked ſome greater Hand, and led the way to, or but given the firſt Thoughts to ſomething more worthy of our Church, and of our Country.

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PAge 8. line 27. for 595, read 592. ibid. l. 30. after *Year*, leave out *ſive*. p. 14. l. 26. after the Words *is allowed*, leave out the Words, *as well*. p. 28. l. 3. *proviſion*, r. *previſion*. p. 32. l. 21. after *at*, add *the*. p. 42. l. 6. *Radbald*, r. *Eadbald*. p. 48. l. 15. *Adanus*, r. *Aidanus*. p. 50. l. 19. leave out *but*. p 80. l. 42. *conveniency*, r. *convening*. p. 111. l. 36. after the Word *for*, leave out *that*. p. 113. l. 23. leave out *ſo*. p. 126. l. 3. *unacceptable*, r. *unaccountable*. p. 137. l. 8. after the Word *ſtill*, leave out *not*. p. 148. l. 33. after the Word *but*, leave out *to*, and for *aſcribe* r. *aſcribes*. p. 164. l. 33. after the Word *as*, add *to*. p. 170. l. 11. *Hickman*, r. *Hinckmar*. p. 177. l. 6. leave out the Word *ſo*. p. 185. l. 18. & p. 201. l. 37. & p. 202. l. 32. *Oſtia*, r. *Oſtium*. p. 186. l. 10. after *Right*, r. *of*. p. 227. l. 26. leave out *as*. p. 241. l. 11. leave out the Words, *and this*. p. 249 l. 27. *five Volumes*, r. *firſt Volume*. p. 257. l. 30. *that*, r. *the*. p. 259. l. 10. after the Word *ſaith*, add *he*. p. 265. l. 6. *moſt*, r. *much*; ibid. l. 9. *Edowments*, r. *Endowments*. p. 272. l. 38. *generality*, r. *Generoſity*. p. 275. l. 35. *where*, r. *when*. p. 279. l. 14. leave out *upon*. p. 283. l. 25. *this*, r. *his*. p. 293. l. 11. *wherein*, r. *deſigned*. p. 316. l. 25, 26. after the Word *Prieſt*, leave out *likewiſe to all other Prieſts*. p. 334. l. 1. *leaſt*, r. *laſt*. p. 359. l. 14. *Edmund*, r. *Edward*. p. 360. l. 14. *the Princeſs*, r. *thoſe Princes*. p. 363. l. 1. *in its*, r. *to its*. p. 373. l. 38. after the Word *beſides*, leave out *as*. p. 380. l. 32. *inconſiſtence*, r. *conſiſtence*. p. 382. l. 31. before the Word *ſucceſſion*, add *the*. p. 383. l. 7. *Notions*, r. *Notion*. p. 387. l. 27. *that Papacy*, r. *the Papacy*. p. 388. l. 12. *enquiring*, r. *inquiry*. ibid. l. 20. *Foſti*, r. *Toſti*. p. 389. l. 9. after the Word *gentle*, add *and*.

A HISTORY OF THE English Church.

CHAP. I.

Ab Anno 401 ad An. 590.

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Anno 401.

SECT. I. THE *Fifth Century* is very remarkable for many Changes in the Affairs of *Europe*, and there are yet remaining ſo many Marks of the Revolutions this Age produced, that there is ſcarce any Nation in *Europe*, which has not ſomething extrordinary to render this Period memorable to ſucceeding Ages. The Seat of the *Roman* Empire was removed from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople* in the preceding Age; and whether it was, that nothing elſe could ſupport the Empire, but the mighty Genius to Government that *Rome* produced; or whether it was, that God's time was come, to humble the Vanity of Mankind, by ſhewing how eaſily the beſt built Greatneſs is cruſh'd by his Hand: the *Roman* Glory never ſhone ſo bright, after the Seat of it was remov'd. But after ſeveral Invaſions and Inſults from the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and other fierce People from the *North*, in the two laſt Ages, the Empire was overwhelm'd, and torn to pieces, by them in the preſent Century. *Alaric*, General of the *Goths*, about the Year 410 beſieged and took *Rome*; and in *Italy* it ſelf laid the Foundations of a *Gothic* Kingdom. In this Century the *Franks* poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Gaule*, and *Pharamond* their General has the firſt place in the Series of the *French* Monarchs. The *Vandals* and *Alans* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Spain*.

SECT. II. The *Britons* had the ſame Fate with the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, but with this difference, that their Caſe

Caſe was harder and leſs pity'd; for the *Romans* having withdrawn their Forces, inſtead of a brave Defence of that Liberty which Providence had put into their hands; they themſelves betray'd it, and drew down Ruine upon themſelves, by inviting the *Saxons* over to their Aid; for theſe having firſt repelled the *Picts* and *Scots*, turn'd their Arms upon their Maſters. And to fill up the meaſures of their Sorrow, about the ſame time that the *Saxons* began to attempt their State, the *Pelagian* Hereſy broke in upon the *Britiſh* Church: But as they took a wiſer Courſe to ſtop the Progreſs of this Hereſy, ſo it pleaſed God to give a Bleſſing to it; for the *Britons* finding themſelves unable to confute the Error they were well reſolv'd not to receive, (*a*) ſent over to ask the Aid of the *Gallican* Church; (*b*) and in order thereunto, a Council being call'd in *France* about the Year 429. St. *German* and St. *Lupus* were made choice of by the *French* Biſhops, (*c*) and were accordingly ſent over to the aſſiſtance of the *Britons*. (*d*) The former, St. *German*, was Biſhop of *Auxerre*, the other of *Troyes*; (*e*) and their Zeal and Conduct were anſwerable to their Character: For by frequent preaching, and Diſputations, by the Zeal of their Addreſs, and the weight of their Arguments, they held back thoſe that were wavering, and recover'd thoſe who had been miſlead; and by the Bleſſing of God on their Labours, re-eſtabliſh'd Peace and Truth in the *Britiſh* Churches. (*f*) Nor did theſe holy Prelates only teach the *Britons* Truth, but inſpir'd them with Courage and Reſolution too: for by their Encouragement and Preſence, ſuch Life was given to the trembling and intimidated *Britons*, that, as *Bede* ſaith, by the Courage theſe Prelates lent the *Britons*, they gain'd a conſiderable Victory over the *Saxons* (*g*).

(*a*) Bedæ *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* I. *Cap.* 17.
(*b*) Ibid.
(*c*) Mazeray Clovis *p.* 18.
(*d*) Ibid.
(*e*) Ibid.
(*f*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* I. *Cap* 17.
(*g*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* I. *Cap.* 20.

SECT. III. But this was a Strain of Goodneſs out of the way of their Function; and God that ſeldom encourages Men out of the way of their Duty, did not give the Succeſs with which he attended them in the Offices of their Miniſtry. However having done the buſineſs they came for, St. *German* and St. *Lupus* return'd to *France* again, loaded with the Thanks and Praiſes of the *Britons*, and with the Bleſſings of the God of Peace and Truth. After ſome time, this Hereſy

reſy breaking out again, the Succeſs of theſe holy Prelates led the *Britons* to the ſame Counſels, and they the ſecond time ſent to beg help from the *Gallic* Church (*a*); and *Lupus* being dead, *Severus* Biſhop of *Triers* was join'd in commiſſion with St. *German*, and they came together into *Britain* (*b*); and the Succeſs was ſuch as may be expected, when the Intereſts of Truth are committed to the Conduct of wiſe and holy Men, for they baffled the *Pelagian* Hereſy; and having eſtabliſh'd Peace in the *Britiſh* Church, they returned home again. And the Catholick Faith was from this time ſo intirely received, and preſerved in the *Britiſh* Churches, that both *Baronius* (*c*) and his Epitomizer *Spondanus* agree, that at the coming of *Auſtin*, the Faith of thoſe Churches was Catholick and Orthodox. But as theſe learned Writers ſay, thoſe Churches had long continued in a State of Schiſm (*d*); and doubtleſs they had done ſo, if it be Schiſm not to live in Communion with the Church of *Rome*. For the foreſaid Account of the Conduct of the *Britiſh* Church, in the matter of the *Pelagian* Hereſy, and the after-treatment of *Auſtin*, together with the mighty difference in the Uſuages, and Rites of the *Britiſh* and *Roman* Churches, and the difficulty with which the *Britons* were brought to any Communion with the Church of *Rome*, ſhew plainly, that the *Britons* were ſo far from any ſenſe of the neceſſity of living in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, much more from owning its Authority over them, that on the contrary, they demonſtrate, that the late Pretences of that Church were intirely unknown to the *Britons*; and that in all Probability, the *Britiſh* Churches had held no Correſpondence with the Biſhops, or Church of *Rome*, from the time that the *Romans* had drawn their Forces out of *Britain*, which was above two hundred Years before the coming of *Auſtin*.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 21.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Baron. *Annal. Anno* 604.

(*d*) Spondan. *Annal. Anno* 604. *n.* 8.

SECT. IV. From this time, till the coming of *Auſtin* called the *Britons* to aſſert their Right as a National Church independent on any foreign Church, we hear no more of the *Britiſh* Church from *Bede*; but from *Gildas* (*e*) their own Hiſtorian, we hear ſo much of a general Looſeneſs prevailing amongſt the *Britiſh* People, that it ſeems too eaſy to account for the Wrath of God which too ſoon overtook them. But whatever the reaſon there-

(*e*) Gildæ *Ep.* XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 18.

thereof was, tho' God reſcued the *Britiſh* Church from the *Pelagian* Hereſy, yet he ſuffer'd their State to become a Prey to their Enemies; for the *Saxons* having once ſeated themſelves in *Britain*, brought in ſo many Northern People to their Aid, that before the end of the following Century, they drove out the *Britons*; ſome to *Armorica*, or *Britany* in *Gaul*, ſome to *Cornwal*, the Weſtern Corner of the Iſland; ſome fled to the *Picts* and *Scots*, and were forced to put themſelves on the Humanity and Charity of their ancient and avowed Enemies, for their Safety and their Bread. Others purchaſed their Lives by yielding to what is worſe than Death it ſelf, a perpetual Slavery; and being forced by Famine, gave up themſelves as Slaves to the Conquerors: (*a*) but for the moſt part they which eſcaped the Sword, fled to the Weſtern Parts of the *Britiſh* Iſle, ſince known by the Name of *Wales*; where the Mountains, and Faſtneſſes, and their Poverty, preſerved the ſad Remains of the *Britiſh* Nation.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib* 1. *Cap.* 15.

SECT. V. Having thus over-run the greateſt part of the *Britiſh* Iſle, according to the different Intereſts of the Adventurers, the *Saxons* parcell'd out their Conqueſts. *Hengiſt*, who was General to the firſt Adventurers, had the County of *Kent* for his ſhare, and ſetled his Kingdom about the Year 455. The ſecond Kingdom, in order of time, was that of the *South-Saxons*, containing the Counties of *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, which began under *Ella*, about the Year 481. The next was that of the *Weſt Saxons*, of which *Cerdick* was the firſt King, about the Year 522; this Kingdom contained the Counties of *Cornwal*, *Devon*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Wilts*, *Southampton*, and *Berks*. The fourth Kingdom was that of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, containing the Counties of *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*: This was co-temporary with that of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and began about the Year 527, under *Erchewine*, the firſt King thereof. The Kingdom of *Northumberland* ſeems to challenge the next place, in order of time, and was the fifth Kingdom of the *Saxons*, erected about the Year 547; this at firſt conſiſted of two Kingdoms or Provinces, the one of which was called *Bernicia*, the other *Deira*; the former containing the Country betwixt the *Tweed* and the *Frith* of *Edinborough*, the latter the Countries betwixt the *Humber* and the *Tweed*.

The ſixth Kingdom, that of the *Eaſt-Angles*, containing the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the Iſle of *Ely*, was erected about the Year 575. The ſeventh, that of *Mercia*, was ſtill later, being not erected till about the Year 582: This Kingdom contained the Counties of *Gloceſter*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Warwick*, *Leiceſter*, *Rutland*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln*, *Bedford*, *Nottingham*, *Buckingham*, *Oxford*, *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Shropſhire*, and *Cheſhire*. One cannot pretend to ſay, that theſe Kingdoms were the ſame from the beginning, or that their Bounds did not alter with the Princes who poſſeſſed them; yet the better to aſcertain the places of Action, ſo neceſſary to be mention'd in the future Story, it ſeems needful to ſet down theſe Partitions, as they uſually ſtand in our Geographers and Hiſtorians; and rather to yield to little Miſtakes, than darken the Hiſtory by Confuſion, or Diſagreement about Names.

SECT. VI. From this view of *Europe*, it will be requiſite to return to the Affairs of the Church, which were ſo much of a piece with thoſe of the State, that it is hard to ſay, whether *Europe* or *Chriſtendom* ſuffer'd moſt by the Revolutions the fifth and ſixth Centuries produced. By the Encouragement of *Conſtantine*, and the ſucceeding Chriſtian Emperors, the Goſpel had ſpread it ſelf to the utmoſt Bounds of the Empire, and was in a very flouriſhing ſtate and condition, when the Inundations of the Northern People at once cover'd the face of *Europe* with Confuſion and Blood, and the blackeſt Errors. For the Goſpel was every where forced to give way to Paganiſm, which kept pace with the Victories, and ſpread it ſelf as far as the Succeſſes of that People.

This was the caſe of *Britain*. The *Britons* had for ſome Ages before received the Chriſtian Faith; and that ſo very early, that we hear of their Biſhops at the Councils of *Nice* and *Arles*; and of their Chriſtianity from *Origen* and *Tertullian*: And it is not without good Grounds, that our Writers place their Converſion as early as the days of the Apoſtles; and in this State they continued in poſſeſſion of their Religion, and their Country, till the coming of the *Saxons*. But about the latter end of the fifth Century, the *Saxons* by an unhappy

unhappy Policy being called in to the defence of the *Britons*, planted themſelves and Paganiſm together within this Iſland; and in this diſmal ſtate, theſe new Inhabitants generally continued for more than one entire Age, and ſome of them for more than two.

But about the latter end of the ſixth Century, it pleaſed God to open a way to their Converſion, and by a particular Providence ſo to order the conduct of his Bleſſings, that a Prince of the ſame Line, by which the Idolatry of the *Saxons* was firſt eſtabliſh'd in the *Britiſh* Iſle, ſhould have the Honour of being the great Inſtrument in the firſt Converſion of that People. The Manner and Circumſtances of which happy Change, we are now to relate.

SECT. VII. The Pomp of the *Roman* Miſſions has made ſo much Noiſe in the World, and the Charity thereof has been ſo induſtriouſly brightned, that the Honour the Biſhops of *Rome* juſtly merited by the ſhare they had in the Converſion of the *Engliſh Saxons*, has been thought Ground enough, by ſome, to challenge the Glory and the Conſequences thereof intirely to the See of *Rome*. It will therefore be needful to ſet this matter in its true Light; and without leſſening the Charity and Piety of the Prelates which held that Chair, give the concurrent Cauſes, the juſt Honour they had in that holy Undertaking: For beſide the eſpecial Co-operation and Bleſſings with which God ever accompanies the Propagation of Truth and Holineſs, there was a Confluence of many outward Cauſes in the Converſion of the *Engliſh Saxons*. *Anno* 561

About the Year 561 *Ethelbert* ſucceeded his Father *Immeric* in the Kingdom of *Kent*: Who coming young to the Throne, and proving a brave and warlike Prince, by the Force and Terror of his Arms, he made all the other *Saxon* Kings become Tributaries to him, and placed his Name at the Head of the *Saxon* Monarchs. Having raiſed himſelf to this great Figure, he endeavour'd to ſecure himſelf at home, by his Alliances abroad: And in order thereunto married *Berte*, Daughter of *Cherebert* a King of *France*, about the Year 570.

SECT. VIII. The *Franks* who were a Northern People, but had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Gaul*, about the *Anno* 570

the ſame time the *Saxons* did of *Britain*, had received the Chriſtian Religion; and therefore upon the concluſion of the foreſaid Marriage, it was agreed that the Queen ſhould be allowed the publick Exerciſe of her Religion: (*a*) And accordingly when ſhe came over, beſides her other Chaplains ſhe brought over *Luidhard* a *French* Biſhop, (*b*) to attend upon her; and a Church built in the time of the *Britons*, and dedicated by the Name of St. *Martin*, near the Eaſt-ſide of the City of *Canterbury*, was fitted up for her: (*c*) thus far ours and the *French* Hiſtorians are agreed. But the *French* carry this matter a great deal farther, and ſay, that *Berte* being a Princeſs of great Beauty, and greater Virtue, ſo inſinuated her ſelf into the Affections of her Husband, that ſhe prevail'd upon him to receive the Chriſtian Religion; and that the *Engliſh* Nation owe their Religion, Civility, and Poliſhing, to the Accompliſhments of that Princeſs (*d*).

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 25. Mezeray, *Life of* Cherebert, *An.* 570.
(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib. Cap.* 25.
(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 26.
(*d*) Mezeray, *Anno* 570.

And *Gregory* in his Epiſtle to that Princeſs, upon the Converſion of the *Saxons*, owns, that the Impreſſions which ſhe had made on the King, had long before the coming of *Auſtin* prepared that Prince's Mind for the reception of the Chriſtian Faith (*e*). And which is ſtill more, *Bede* ſaith, that *Ethelbert* died in the Year 613, and that this Year was the one and twentieth Year from his Baptiſm (*f*); ſo that according to that Account he was baptized in the Year 595, which was five Years before *Auſtin* came into *Britain*. And the Account of Mr. *Creſſey* (*g*) does not much mend the matter, for he ſays that *Auſtin* came into *England* in the Year five 597, and that *Ethelbert* died in the Year 616; and yet he allows that *Ethelbert* died the one and twentieth Year after his Converſion to the Chriſtian Faith; and in both theſe particulars, the Account of that learned Writer follows the Chronology at the end of *Bede*'s Hiſtory: according to which Account, the Converſion of that Prince falls in with the Year 595; and conſequently, he was converted two Years before *Auſtin* came into *England*. This would go a great way in confirming the Pretenſions of the *French*, if the Chronology of *Bede* were not inconſiſtent with its ſelf in this particular; but that is ſo manifeſt, that there is no ſtreſs to be laid upon it.

(*e*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 9. *Epiſt.* 59.
(*f*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 5.
(*g*) Creſſey's *Ch. Hiſt. Lib.* 14. *Cap.* 6. *p.* 322.

SECT.

SECT. IX. But the Anſwer of *Gregory* to the third Queſtion of *Auſtin*, wherein *Gregory* adviſes *Auſtin* to uſe either the Liturgies and Rites of *Rome*, or *France*, amongſt the *Engliſh*, as he ſhould ſee moſt likely to win upon them, (*a*) gives great reaſon to think, not only that that Princeſs was greatly inſtrumental in the Converſion of the *Engliſh*, and therefore was not to be diſobliged, by introducing Ceremonies contrary to thoſe ſhe had brought from *France*; but makes it highly probable, that many of the *Engliſh* had been converted, and received the Liturgy and Ceremonies of the *French*, before the coming of *Auſtin*. For an over-value for their Rites and Uſages, is an Infirmity that ſo generally waits upon good Men, and this often accompanied with ſuch ſtiffneſs and adhering, that, the natural Warmth of *Gregory* conſider'd, his Moderation ſeems no other way to be accounted for, but on the foreſaid Grounds: And which is ſtill more, it appears by two Epiſtles of *Gregory*, that the *Saxons* themſelves were in ſome meaſure ſenſible of the danger of their Condition; and before he had any thoughts of ſending over *Auſtin*, deſired to embrace the Chriſtian Faith: which in his Epiſtles to *Theoderick* and *Theobert* Kings of the *Franks*, *Gregory* thus expreſſed: *We are informed that the* Engliſh *Nation is deſirous to become Chriſtian; but the Clergy neglect to aſſiſt them with their Exhortation and Advice, and therefore have we ſent* Auſtin, *the Bearer of this, whoſe Zeal is well known unto us, together with other Servants of God, to go over to* Britain; *and have required him to take ſome Prieſts with them from the Neighbourhood, who may be Interpreters to* Auſtin, *and his Brethren, and aſſiſt them with their Labours and advice. And therefore he begs of thoſe Princes, that for God's ſake they would favour him with their beſt Aſſiſtance* (*b*).

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 27.

(*b*) Greg. *Ep. Lib.* 5. *Ep.* 58.

And in his following Epiſtle to *Brunichilde*, a Queen of the *Franks*, he writes in the ſame manner, and almoſt in the ſame Words. One can conclude nothing leſs from theſe Epiſtles, but that the *Saxons* were not only deſirous to receive the Chriſtian Faith, but had alſo ſignified their Deſire to the *French*; and that it is the *French* Clergy that *Gregory* blames, for the neglect of the Chriſtian Office, they had intreat-

Indicamus ad nos perveniſſe Anglorum Gentem, Deo annuente, velle fieri Chriſtianam, ſed Sacerdotes qui in vicino ſunt, paſtoralem erga illos ſollicitudinem non habere. Greg. *Epiſt. Lib.* 5. *Epiſt.* 59.

ed from them. Thus much at leaſt is certain, from theſe Epiſtles, that that People were well diſpoſed to the Chriſtian Religion, before the coming of *Auſtin*; and that this diſpoſition had come to the knowledge of *Gregory*; and in all probability, by the means of Queen *Bertie*.

Anno 570. SECT. X. 'Tis not eaſy to determine how long things continued in this ſtate, before the coming of *Auſtin*. If we may rely on the Chronology of *Mezeray*, and fix the Marriage of *Ethelbert* about the Year 570. the firſt Commiſſion of *Auſtin* the Monk in the Year 596. and his Arrival the Year following, as *Bede* (*a*) and *Baronius* (*b*), we have a long interval of twenty ſix or twenty ſeven Years, betwixt the Marriage of that Prince, and the coming of *Auſtin*, a time, one would think, ſufficient to give footing to the wiſeſt and beſt Inſtitution in the World; eſpecially if we conſider it as puſhed on by the Zeal and Intereſt, and illuſtrated by the Example of a Princeſs of great Piety and Goodneſs: So that the *French* Hiſtorian has at leaſt a very colourable pretence, for aſcribing the firſt Converſion of the *Saxons* to that Princeſs.

(*a*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 23.

(*b*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 597.

But, beſides the advantages which aroſe from hence, the wiſe Providence of God had, by ſeveral other advantageous circumſtances, prepared a way for the Converſion of the *Engliſh Saxons*; for the *Franks*, the *Goths*, and *Vandals*, and the reſt of the Northern People, who had planted themſelves in *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, had for the moſt part yielded Obedience to the Chriſtian Faith. The *Scots* of *Ireland* had eſcaped the inundations which overſpread all the other Weſtern Nations of *Europe*, and preſerved their Faith and their Country.

SECT. XI. The *Britons*, who had eſcaped the fury of the *Saxons*, had, before the coming of *Auſtin*, ſo far recovered themſelves, that under a wiſe and regular Diſcipline they had re-eſtabliſhed their Church, and regained ſome part of the Glory which they had loſt by the Conqueſt of the *Saxons*; for though God thought fit to lay his heavy Hand upon them, yet he preſerved ſuch noble remains of the *Britiſh* Church and Nation, that the Marks of his Mercy and Goodneſs, in their Preſervation and future Settlements, are no leſs viſible than thoſe of his Anger and Juſtice, in their Puniſhment. Thoſe which

which fled to *France*, and united with ſuch of their Anceſtors as had been drawn out of *Britain* by the Emperors *Gratian* and *Theodoſius*, and planted in *Gaul Aremorique*, by *Maximus*, Lieutenant of *Britain*, under the *Romans*. Theſe not only gave the name of *Bretaign* to that part of *Gaul* which they poſſeſſed, but under a ſucceſſion of Kings of their own, preſerved themſelves beyond the firſt Race of the *French* Kings; and made ſo great a Figure under the ſecond, that it was not without great expence of Blood that they were compelled to yield to the good Fortune of *Charles* the Great, and become Tributaries to that Prince. Their Church too made no leſs Figure in the Sacred Story.

As for thoſe *Britons* who retired into the Weſtern Parts of the Iſle, as well thoſe of *Cornwal*, as thoſe of *Wales*, amidſt the heavy Judgments which befel them, God reſerved to them the comforts of their Religion; and what they loſt in the face and glory of their Church, was repaid to them in the ardors of a holy Zeal, and a juſt ſenſe of the Calamity which was fallen upon them. As for the *Corniſh Britons*, it is not eaſy to account for their Diſcipline and Government. Two *Britiſh* Biſhops, as *Bede* (*a*) ſaith, aſſiſted *Wini*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, at the Conſecration of *Ceada*, Biſhop of *York*; but whether they were Biſhops of the *Corniſh Britons*, who were tributary to the *Weſt-Saxons*, and who might upon that account be induced to join with the Biſhop of that Kingdom: or whether they were Biſhops of *South-Wales*, there is not light enough to determine, much leſs to make a true Judgment of the preſent ſtate of Chriſtianity amongſt the *Corniſh Britons*.

(*a*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 28.

But thus much is very evident, that the *Corniſh Britons* were very numerous, and had, for the moſt part of them, maintain'd their Rites and Uſages till the latter end of the Seventh Century, when *Aldhelmus* was employ'd to write againſt them, and made Biſhop of *Sherbourn* for the Services he did in bringing of (*Bede* ſaith) very many of the *Britons*, under the Dominion of the King of the *Weſt-Saxons* (*b*), to the Catholick *Eaſter*.

(*b*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 19.

As for thoſe who inhabited *Wales*, they had their Diocеſan Biſhops, under one Metropolitan the Archbiſhop of *Caerleon*; and if their Number and Diſtricts cannot be aſcertained, 'tis evident that no leſs than ſeven of their

Biſhops

Biſhops appear'd at the Second Conference with *Auſtin:* And tho' *Baronius* has ſo much Aſſurance, and ſo little Charity, as to pronounce theſe *Britons* guilty of Schiſm; yet he allows their Government to have been regular, and their Faith Orthodox. And both *Auſtin* and his Succeſſors, by making the ſubmiſſion of the *Britons* to their Authority, as Metropolitans, the firſt and chief Article of Communion, leave it paſt doubt that they were fully ſatisfied of the purity of their Doctrine, and the canonical ſucceſſion of their Biſhops.

Such too was the ſtate of the *Scotiſh* Churches in *Ireland*, their Faith and Diſcipline were the ſame with the *Britiſh* Churches, and their Friendſhip and Communion reciprocal. Such too was the ſtate of thoſe Churches planted by the *Britons* and *Scots* in the Northern Parts of *Britain*, and the adjacent Iſles: And the difference betwixt the *Britons* and the *Scots* in *Ireland* lay chiefly in this, that the *Scots* eſcaped the Vengeance and Confuſion which for a time covered the face of the *Britiſh* Church.

Nor were the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Churches only in a flouriſhing condition at the coming of *Auſtin*, but the *Britons* and *Iriſh Scots*, before his coming, had done a great deal towards reſtoring Chriſtianity to the *Britiſh* Iſland, and were worthy Inſtruments in forwarding the eternal Salvation of thoſe Men, whoſe Fathers had Maſſacred their Anceſtors, and laid waſte their Country: For, as *Bede* obſerves, (*a*) *Columba* came from *Ireland* about the Year 565, and converted the *Picts* inhabiting the Northern Parts of *Britain*. The *Saxon* Chronicle agrees with this account of *Bede* (*b*); but the Annals of *Aſſerius* place this Affair five Years ſooner (*c*). As for the Southern *Picts* they had been converted long before by *Nynia*, a Britiſh Biſhop (*d*). And an Epiſcopal See was founded, the Church whereof was dedicated to St. *Martin*; and from the building thereof with white Stone, was known in *Bede*'s Time, and long after, by the Name of *Candida Caſa*, (*e*) or *Whittern* in *Galloway* in *Scotland*.

(*a*) Bedæ, *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 4.

(*b*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 560.

(*c*) *Annal.* Aſſerii *Anno* 565. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 143.

(*d*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 4.

(*e*) Ibid.

SECT. XII. And according to the account of Mr. *Cambden*, the *Picts* had anciently *Edenburgh* for their Capital City, and their Country extended it ſelf Southward to the Frith of *Edenburgh* and *Dunbritton*: And

and it ſeems probable that one of the firſt great Bodies of *Saxons*, under pretence of covering the *Britons* from the inſults of the *Picts* and *Scots*, made their firſt Settlement in that part of *Britain* which was anciently the Country of the *Picts*, lying about the Friths of *Edenborough* and *Dunbritton*; at leaſt thus much is certain, that *Nennius*, the Britiſh Hiſtorian, ſaith, that *Vortigern*, King of the *Britons*, having married the Daughter of *Hengiſt*, one of the *Saxon* Generals, did, by his Perſwaſions, grant leave to call over a greater number of his Countrymen; and to ſettle themſelves in the Northern Parts of *Britain*, near the Wall of the *Picts* (*a*); and that thoſe new Colonies arriving, they did, after ſome conteſt with the *Picts*, ſettle themſelves on the Confines of the *Picts*, on the North-ſide of the Frith (*b*), having the *Britons* on the South, and the *Scots* on the North; and here, as that Writer ſaith, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of vaſt Countries (*c*), probably part of thoſe Countries, which are now known by the Name of the *Lowlands of Scotland*: And the *Scotch* Hiſtorians do not deny but ſuch a Colony of the *Saxons* was ſettled by the conſent of the *Britons*, to be a Bridle upon the *Scots* (*d*).

(*a*) Nenni *Hiſtor. Britan.* *cap.* 38. XV. *Script. p.* 107.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Forden. *Hiſt. Scot.* XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 631.

This new Colony being thus ſettled, did, after ſome time, enter into Friendſhip with the *Picts* and *Scots*; and in conjunction with them, and the *Saxons* in *Kent*, turn'd their Arms againſt the *Britons* (*e*), if this Account may be rely'd upon; and we conclude, that this People continued their Poſſeſſion, till the Multitudes which were drawn thence to aſſiſt in the conqueſt of the Southern Parts of *Britain*, ſo weakned them, that they were conquered by the *Scots*. We have an eaſy Account to give of the mighty Feuds and Animoſities betwixt the Highland and Lowland *Scotch*; and ſee plainly how it came to paſs, that whilſt the Highland *Scots* retain the *Iriſh* Tongue, the Lowlands ſpeak that of the *Saxons*.

(*e*) Nennii *Hiſt. Brit.* XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 107.

And if the firſt Seat of the *Albion* or *Engliſh Scots* be ſtraiten'd by this Settlement, the enlarging of their Country by the Conqueſt of the *Picts* and *Saxons*, and giving the Name of *Scots* to the *Picts* and *Saxons*, which they ſubdued, and of *Scotland* to the Countries of the People they conquered, make a laſting and defenſible Proviſion for the honour of that warlike Nation; whilſt the fond and helpleſs Opinions of ſome of their Writers, by

making their Hiſtory incredible, leſſens the Honour they pretend to magnifie. Nor were the *Scots* ſingular in taking up the Language of the People they conquered; for, to ſay nothing of the *Romans*, this was the caſe of the *Goths*, the *Franks* and *Normans*. The *Goths* and *Vandals*, who ſeated themſelves in *Italy*, and in *Spain*, ſubmitted to the Language of the People they conquered. The *Franks* loſt their Tongue, and took up that of the *Gauls*: And this was twice the caſe of the *Normans*; for in *Gaul* they loſt the Language they brought from the North; and in *England* the Language they brought from *Gaul*.

And indeed this ever was and will be the caſe in Conqueſts, where the Body of the People continue the ſame; but if there be truth in the Opinions, ſome learned Men of the *Scotch* Nation have run into, that the whole Body of that People (now known by the Name of *Scots*) have the ſame original; and were, before the coming of the *Saxons*, poſſeſſed of all that Country which they now inhabit; and that their Neighbourhood and Commerce with the Engliſh, introduced the Engliſh Tongue into that Nation. In the parting with their native Tongue, to take up that of a neighbouring Nation, we have ſuch an original of complaiſance, as is to be found no where in the World beſides.

But be this matter as it will, what is allow'd, as well by the *Scotiſh* and *Saxon*, as well as *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, is enough to ſhew, that the *Saxons* long before the coming of *Auſtin*, had entered into a Friendſhip with the *Scots* and *Picts*, who were Chriſtians; and it is reaſonable to think, that their Neighbourhood and Friendſhip with thoſe People, could not but give them ſome knowledge of the Chriſtian Religion, and do ſomething towards preparing the way for it.

But thus much is evident, that the *Picts*, notwithſtanding this change of Affairs, retained the Chriſtian Faith; and that their Country, and particularly that Iſland which *Bede* ſo often mentions, under the Name of *Hy*, and *Hu*, now *Iona*, ſo famous for the Monaſtery erected there by *Columba*, the Apoſtle of the *Picts*, (*a*) became the Sanctuary and Nurſery of Religion and Learning; and not only preſerved the Chriſtian Faith, but bred abundance of Great Men, which *Bede*, and all our

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib* 5. *Cap* 10.

our other Hiſtorians agree, were great Inſtruments in the Converſion of the *Saxons*; as ſhall be related in its proper place.

God having thus prepared the way, we are in the next place to review the *Roman* Miſſions, and the part they had in the Converſion of the *Saxon* People.

CHAP. II.

Ab Anno 590 ad Annum 601.

SECT. I. *THE Time and Reaſon of* Gregory's *ſending* Auſtin.

II. Auſtin *was frighted, and went back from* France *to* Rome, *to beg* Gregory's *Excuſe; returns with new Letters of Commendation to the* French *King and Biſhops.*

III. Auſtin *provides Interpreters in* France, *and comes into* England: *His Reception and firſt Succeſſes.*

IV. Auſtin *enters* Canterbury *in Proceſſion, ſettles in* Canterbury, *and joins with the Queen and* French *Biſhop, and reſorts to the Chapel ſet apart for that Princeſs: By her influence and perſwaſion he brought over* Ethelbert, *King of* Kent, *to the Chriſtian Faith; and, by his Example, many of the People of* Kent. *His Succeſs magnified by* Gregory.

V. *A difference amongſt Hiſtorians, about the Time and Circumſtances of* Auſtin's *Succeſs: He is tranſported with it.*

VI. Auſtin *goes into* France, *and is conſecrated Biſhop. A diſpute betwixt* Bede *and* Baronius, *about the time of his Conſecration, the Ground of that Diſpute.*

VII. Auſtin *ſends to* Rome *to give Account of his Succeſs, and deſires farther help. His Queſtions, and the Anſwers of* Gregory; *the Authority that* Gregory *gave to* Auſtin *over the* Britiſh *Church.*

VIII. Mellitus, *and a new Colony of Monks ſent to* Auſtin. Gregory *reflects on the vanity of* Auſtin.

IX. *Inſtructions of* Gregory, *relating to the* Pagan *Temples, and their way of Worſhip. The ill conſequences of this Advice.*

X. Gre-

X. Gregory's *Advice to* Serenus, *Biſhop of* Marſelles, *the ſame Year: It occaſions introducing Images: The reaſon of his Advice: The miſchief thereof to the Weſtern Church.*
XI. *The difference betwixt the Converſion of the firſt Chriſtians, and thoſe of the Northern Nations, in the ſixth and ſeventh Centuries: The averſion of the* Britons *to the Worſhip introduced by* Auſtin: *The Grounds thereof.*
XII. *A Pall ſent to* Auſtin; *and a Model for the new* Saxon *Church.*
XIII. Gregory *gives* Auſtin *Power over the* Britiſh *Church. Some reflections on the Conduct of* Gregory.
XIV. *The Ground of* Gregory's *Proceeding inquired into: The ill ſucceſs thereof.*

Anno 590

SECT. I. IN this Poſture ſtood the Affairs of *Britain*, when *Gregory* the Great came to the Papacy, about the Year 590, the eighth of the Reign of the Emperor *Mauritius*, according to *Baronius*; or the tenth according to the account of *Bede*, (*a*) tho' *Gregory* was not without his Faults; yet if we take his Character together, we find ſuch Marks of a primitive Spirit, as very juſtly merit the veneration of ſucceeding Ages; for, to paſs by all other Inſtances, the ſhare he had in the Converſion of the *Saxons* is never to be thought on but with Gratitude, nor to be mentioned without Honour: It is hard to ſay when he firſt formed that deſign; or the true occaſion that gave beginning to it. In one place *Bede* reſolves it into a holy Inſpiration (*b*), in another, to a noble Pity, occaſioned by ſeeing ſome of the *Engliſh* expoſed to ſale in the Market (*c*): And in this Opinion he is followed by *Baronius*; and, as he obſerves, by *Johannes Diaconus*, and ſome other Hiſtorians.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 23.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 1.

But it ſeems moſt probable, that the firſt motive to this Undertaking was the deſire of the *Engliſh* to receive the Chriſtian Faith, ſignified to him from *Berte*, Queen of *Kent*. But whatever the occaſion was, *Gregory* having formed a deſign to attempt the converſion of the *Engliſh Saxons*, he made choice of *Auſtin*, Prior of the Monaſtery of St. *Martin* in *Rome*, for the conduct of it; and, together with about forty other Monks, to be aſſiſtant to him, ſent him towards *Britain*, in the Year 596.

SECT.

SECT. II. But *Auſtin* coming to *France*, was ſo frighted by the Character he there received of the *Engliſh Saxons*, and the conſideration of his being intirely a ſtranger to their Language, that leaving his Company in *France* he returned to *Rome*, and repreſented to *Gregory* the hazard, and uncomfortable views of his Undertaking; and with much importunity intreated to be excuſed (*a*); but having proceeded ſo far, the Wiſdom and Honour of *Gregory* were engaged in the proſecution of the Attempt; and therefore having quieted or over-ruled the Fears of *Auſtin*, and from the vigours of his own Mind lent him new Courage, *Gregory* ſent him back to *France* again, with a Letter of Encouragement to his Brethren (*b*). And to give new Life to the hopes of *Auſtin*, he recommended him by his Letters to the Kings and Queens, and ſeveral Biſhops of *France*, and deſired that they would favour him with their beſt Aſſiſtances in his Undertaking (*c*); and more particularly to the Biſhops of *Arles* (*d*) and *Vienne* (*e*).

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 596.

(*b*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 4. *Epiſt.* 57.

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 23.

SECT. III. *Auſtin* having provided himſelf of Interpreters in *France*, ſailed this Year into *Britain*; and having landed in the Iſle of *Thanet*, he diſpatched ſome of his Company to *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, to acquaint him with his coming, and of the importance of his Errand; having received this Meſſage, the King commanded that he ſhould continue in the Iſle till further Orders; and, in the mean time, that he ſhould be treated with all Gentleneſs and Humanity: and, after ſome time, appointed a Day to hear his Meſſage; and, for that end, together with ſome of his Nobility, he went into the Iſland; and, whether it was that the Superſtitions of the Pagan Worſhip, had taught him to ſuſpect ſome Faſcination; or, whether the conduct of *Auſtin* had given him a wrong Idea of the Religion of Chriſt, that Prince conducting himſelf by a receiv'd Notion, that Charms could have no power over him in the open Air, he took up his Seat in the open Field, and commanded *Auſtin* to attend him there. *Auſtin* having received this Command, put himſelf and his Followers into the Form of a Proceſſion, and erecting his ſilver Croſs, and carrying in his Arms the Picture or Image of Chriſt, he and his Company ſinging their Letany, came to the preſence of the King (*f*).

Baron. *Annal An.* 526.

(*d*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 24.

(*e*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 5. *Epiſt.* 54.

(*f*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 25.

The King having heard, by the Interpreter of *Auſtin*, an account of the Nature and Promiſes of the Goſpel, before he diſmiſſed him, gave him liberty to preach the Chriſtian Religion in his Kingdom, and aſſigned him a (a) Ibid. Houſe in the City of *Canterbury* (*a*). Whether theſe Favours were the effect of God's Bleſſings upon the Diſcourſe of *Auſtin*; or the iſſue of the Perſwaſions of the Queen, and the applications of the *French* King; or whether owing to the preceding deſire and diſpoſition of the *Engliſh* to receive the Faith, is equally difficult, and invidious to determine.

Anno 598. SECT. IV. But to whatever reaſons he owed his Succeſs, *Auſtin* having been thus favourably received by the King, haſtened to *Canterbury*, to reap the benefit of the Grant that Prince had made him; and whether it was that he hoped by charming the Senſes, to captivate the Underſtandings to the Obedience of Chriſt; and, by Pomp and Shew, ſupply his defect of Language, he enter'd *Canterbury* in the ſame manner that he had ad-
(b) Bed. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 25. dreſs'd himſelf to the King in the Iſle of *Thanet* (*b*), in the form of Proceſſion, and ſinging the Office *Gregory* had not long before prepared upon the occaſion of a great Plague in *Rome*.

Auſtin being ſettled in *Canterbury*, join'd himſelf and his Company to the Queen's Chapel; and, by God's Bleſſing upon his Endeavours, and the Influence and Example of that Princeſs, great numbers were brought to the Chriſtian Religion; and, if we may rely on the Authority of *Baronius*, before this Year ended, King *Ethelbert* declared himſelf a Chriſtian, and was Baptized;
(c) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 26. (*c*) and tho' at the ſame time he gave one of the moſt certain Marks of a Chriſtian Spirit, and did a great deal of Honour to the Inſtructions of *Auſtin*, by declaring, that Chriſt *required no other than a voluntary Obedience*, but *forbid violence and force*; yet the Example and Zeal of that Prince were great Inſtruments of Good; and drew great numbers of his Subjects to follow his Example; and the Succeſs of *Auſtin* was ſo extraordinary, that *Gregory*, in an Epiſtle to *Eulogius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, ſaith, that the Miracles of thoſe who engaged in this Undertaking, ſhone like thoſe of the Apoſtles; and that on *Chriſtmas-Day* more than Ten Thouſand *Engliſh*
(d) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 7. *Epiſt.* 30. were Baptized. (*d*)

SECT.

SECT. V. *Baronius* aſcribes this Succeſs to *Auſtin*, and fixes it in the Year 597; and this upon the authority of the foreſaid Epiſtle: But this Affair which *Baronius*, from the Authority of *Gregory*'s Epiſtle, places in this Year, *Ranulphus* poſtpones to the Year 603 (*a*), and ſaith, it was perform'd in the River *Swale*, near to *York*. *Birchington* ſaith the ſame thing as to the place and number of the Baptized (*b*). And *Joceline* agrees with them in thoſe circumſtances, but adds, that it was performed immediately after *Auſtin*'s Conference with the *Britons*; and has furniſhed us with many circumſtances relating to his Journey and Return from *York* (*c*): Yet it is not unlikely but there is a Miſtake in all theſe Relations; and that what *Bede* ſaith of *Paulinus* (*d*), who baptized great numbers in the River *Swale*, is miſapplied to *Auſtin*.

(*a*) Polychron. XV *Scriptor.* *pag.* 227.

(*b*) *Angliæ Sac.* *Pars* I. *pag.* 1.

(*c*) *Vita* Auguſtini *Ang.* *Sac. Part* II. *pag.* 67.

(*d*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 14.

And that which confirms one in this belief, is, that *Bede* expreſly ſaith, that *Enfled*, the Daughter of *Edwin* King of the *Northumbrians*, who was born about twenty Years after the Death of *Auſtin*, was the firſt of all the *Northumbrians* which received Baptiſm (*e*). And *Nennius* ſaith the ſame thing (*f*). Nor is there more certainty of the time when *Ethelbert* received Baptiſm; for tho' *Baronius* fixes it in the Year 597, yet it is omitted in the Chronology of *Bede*; and which is more, the Epiſtle of *Gregory*, to congratulate the Converſion of that Prince, bears date in *June*, the nineteenth of the Emperor *Mauritius*, which falls in with the Year 601. And the Epiſtles of *Gregory* to *Theodorick*, and *Clotharius*, Kings of the *Francks*, to *Brunichild* Queen, and ſeveral of the *French* Biſhops, to return Thanks for their Favours and good Offices to *Auguſtine*, are all of the ſame date (*g*), which ſeems no way to ſute the Zeal and Concern of *Gregory* in that Affair, if that Prince had been converted four Years before.

(*e*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 9.

(*f*) Nennii *Hiſt. Britan.* XV. *Scriptor.* *pag.* 114.

(*g*) Greg. *Ep.* *Lib.* 9. *Ep.* 52, 53, 55, 56.

And yet, to ſpeak the truth, in the body of the foreſaid Epiſtle of *Gregory* to *Eulogius*, the Baptiſm of the ten thouſand *Engliſh* is ſaid to be in the firſt Year of the Indiction, which falls in with the latter end of the Year of our Lord 597; but that Epiſtle make no mention of the Baptiſm of King *Ethelbert*, nor of the place where the ten thouſand Engliſh were baptized; but if there be any truth in it, this muſt be done this Year, and the Kingdom of *Kent* the place, and not *York-ſhire*,

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as the 'foreſaid Hiſtorians affirm; but no reaſon can be aſſigned, why *Gregory* ſhould make no mention of the Converſion and Baptiſm of the King of *Kent*, if *Auſtin* had had the Honour of ſuch a Proſelite.

But whenever this Affair was tranſacted, thus much is certain, that God was pleaſed to make *Auſtin* a great Inſtrument of his Glory; and it is as certain, he had much ado to bear the Honour God was pleaſed to do him.

SECT. VI. Things being brought to this paſs, the better to qualifie himſelf for the regular eſtabliſhment of that Church he had laid the Foundations of, *Auſtin* went into *France*, where he was conſecrated Biſhop by the Archbiſhop of *Arles* (*a*), under the Title of Archbiſhop of the Engliſh (*b*). *Baronius* charges *Bede* with a Miſtake in this particular, (*c*) and ſaith, that *Auſtin* was conſecrated Biſhop before his coming into *Britain*, and founds his Cenſure on the 'foreſaid Epiſtle of *Gregory* to *Eulogius*: And thus much is evident, that in that Epiſtle *Gregory* ſaith, that he had given leave to the *German* Biſhops to conſecrate *Auſtin*, and gives him the Title of Biſhop; and yet, after all, that Epiſtle is no way inconſiſtent with the Account of *Bede*; for all that can be concluded from that Epiſtle, is, that *Auſtin* had the Character of a Biſhop, at the time when it was wrote, which was in *June*, the firſt of the Indiction; ſo that if the coming of *Auſtin* into *Britain*, was in the Year of our Lord 597, and the fifteenth of the Indiction, *June* the firſt of the following Indiction may very well be above a Year after his Arrival in *Britain*; ſo that if his coming be fixed the beginning of the Year 597, and the Baptiſm of the Engliſh the *Chriſtmas* following, *Auſtin* had ſix Months time before the date of *Gregory*'s Epiſtle, to receive his Conſecration, and give him information thereof.

(*a*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 27.
(*b*) Ibid.
(*c*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 597.

But there is yet a greater difficulty unobſerved by *Baronius*, and that is, that *Bede* ſaith, that *Auſtin* was conſecrated a Biſhop by *Etherius*, Archbiſhop of *Arles*, (*d*) whereas it appears by ſeveral Epiſtles of *Gregory* (*e*) that *Virgilius*, which *Bede* (*f*) allows to be the Succeſſor of *Etherius*, was Archbiſhop of *Arles* the thirteenth Year of the Indiction, which anſwers to the Year of our Lord 595; whereas *Auſtin* did not ſet out for *Rome* till the Year

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 27.
(*e*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 4. *Epiſt* 52. 53.
(*f*) Bedæ, *Eccleſ. Hiſt.*

Year following. In ſhort, the firſt Letter of *Gregory* to *Etherius* (*a*), in favour of *Auſtin*, bears date a Year after the 'forementioned Epiſtles to his Succeſſor *Vigilius*. Upon the whole matter, it appears eaſy to perplex, but very difficult to ſet this Affair in its true Light; but ſince *Baronius* his Cenſure of *Bede* is founded on the Epiſtles of *Gregory*, and there is a manifeſt inconſiſtence in the dates of thoſe Epiſtles, and the Chronology of *Bede* appears conſiſtent with it ſelf, it ſeems reaſonable to leave him poſſeſſed of his Authority, notwithſtanding what is ſaid to the contrary by *Baronius*.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.*

SECT. VII. *Auſtin* being conſecrated Biſhop, preſently ſent away *Laurentius* a Prieſt, and *Peter* a Monk to *Rome*, to give *Gregory* an account of his Succeſs (*b*), and to deſire aſſiſtance in carrying on the Work he had ſo happily begun, and to receive the directions of *Gregory* for his future Conduct; nor did he omit to magnifie the Miracles that God is ſaid to have wrought by his hands; and that he might not be miſtaken by theſe Meſſengers, *Auſtin* ſent ſeveral written Inquiries unto *Gregory*. And tho' the Queſtions ſent by *Auſtin* to *Gregory* have a turn ſo peculiar, that few wiſe Men would have hit upon them; yet becauſe they may give us ſome light into the *Genius* and Sentiments, as well of the Age as of the Man, it may not be unworthy of our time to take a ſhort view of them, together with the Anſwers of *Gregory*. (*c*)

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 27.

(*c*) Ibid.

In the firſt, *Auſtin* inquires how he ſhould eſtabliſh the Revenues of the Church of *Canterbury*? to which *Gregory* anſwers, that he ſhould take his Pattern from the Church of *Rome*, and divide the Revenue into four Parts, allowing one to the Biſhop for the ſupport of his Family, and maintenance of Hoſpitality, the ſecond to the Clergy, the third to the Poor, the fourth to the ſupport of the Fabrick. The ſecond Queſtion of *Auſtin* is, How he ſhould provide for the married Clergy? *Gregory* anſwers, they ſhould have a Portion aſſign'd, diſtinct from ſuch of the Clergy as lived in one Society. To the third Queſtion, about the different Uſages and Rites of the Church, *Gregory* anſwers with the Temper and Wiſdom becoming his Character, that his firſt care ſhould be for the edification of the Church he was to eſtabliſh, and that without any regard either to the Ceremonies of

Rome, or *France*, he ſhould introduce ſuch Rites into the *Engliſh* Church, as were moſt likely to forward the Honour of God, and the Holineſs of the Church he was to eſtabliſh. The fourth Queſtion is, How the Robbers of the Church ſhould be puniſhed? The fifth, Whether two Brothers might marry two Siſters? The ſixth, What degrees of Kindred may marry? The ſeventh, Whether in caſe of diſtance a Biſhop may be conſecrated by one of the ſame Order? In two other of his Queſtions he inquires, Whether a Woman with Child may be baptiz'd? and whether the pollutions of a Dream may unfit a Man for the Offices of the Miniſtry, or the participation of the Holy Sacrament.

The Anſwers are all as weighty as the Queſtions deſerve: In the ninth Interrogation *Auſtin* inquires how he ſhould behave himſelf towards the *Gallic* and *Britiſh* Biſhops; to which *Gregory* anſwered, that he ſhould not pretend to any Authority over the *French* Biſhops; but as to the *Britiſh* he committed them wholly to his care, that he might teach the unlearned, confirm the weak, and correct the obſtinate.

SECT. VIII. Theſe Queſtions and Anſwers, as they are printed in the Works of *Gregory*, (*a*) are much the ſame as in *Bede*; only the Copy in *Gregory's* Works has one Queſtion and Anſwer more than the Copy in the Hiſtory of *Bede*; but in both places they are without date: But it ſeems probable, they were ſent over with the ſecond Colony of Monks, conducted by *Mellitus* their Abbot, and *Laurentius*, whom *Auſtin* had ſent to *Rome*, and came together with them into *Britain*, in the Year 601; and not only the Letters of *Gregory* to the King and Queen of *Kent*, but all the commendatory Epiſtles to the King and Queen, and ſeveral Biſhops of the *Franks* (*b*), and the Chronology of *Bede* anſwer this Account. Amongſt thoſe who came at this time into *Britain*, were *Mellitus*, *Juſtus*, *Paulinus*, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and had a great ſhare in the future Labour and Honour of this Holy Undertaking.

(*a*) *Decretal.* Gregor. *Fol.* 464. *Edit.* Paris 1533.

(*b*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 9. *Ep.* 52. 55, 56.

But by an Epiſtle of *Gregory* it appears, that in the account which *Auſtin* had ſent to *Rome*, he had taken care to recount the Miracles that God had wrought by his Hand; but with an air and reliſh, that leſſened the Man,

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by magnifying the Miracles. To which *Gregory*, in a diſtinct Epiſtle anſwered, like one that took pleaſure in the Succeſs, but pitied the Vanity it had occaſioned. And therefore at the ſame time that he ſent him over all neceſſary Helps and Inſtructions, and made a juſt acknowledgment of his Labours, he furniſhed him with Arguments to cure his Vanity. (*a*)

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 31.

SECT. IX. Amongſt other Inſtructions brought over by *Mellitus* (*b*) *Gregory* directs *Auſtin* not to deſtroy the Places uſed by the *Saxons* for the Pagan Worſhip; but that having firſt caſt out the Images of their Gods, he ſhould with Holy Water ſprinkle the Walls thereof, build Altars, and furniſh them with Reliques, and thus ſet them apart for the Service of God. But as to the Rites and Uſages of the Pagan Worſhip, his Inſtructions are more ſurpriſing, and ſeem better fitted to the following than the preſent Age; and this was to treat the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Pagan Engliſh*, as he did the places of their Worſhip; not to aboliſh them, but having firſt fitted them for it, by changing the end of thoſe Inſtitutions, he ſhould then introduce them into the Chriſtian Worſhip. (*c*)

Anno 601.

(*b*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 9. *Epiſt.* 71. Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 30.

(*c*) Baron. *Annal. Anno* 601.

And amongſt others of this kind, *Gregory* takes notice of a *Saxon* Feſtival, that ſeems to lie ſo croſs to the purity of the Goſpel-Worſhip, as one would have thought could never have been reconciled to it. And whereas, ſaith *Gregory*, the *Saxons* uſed to ſlay abundance of Oxen, and ſacrifice them to Devils, you ſhall not aboliſh this Cuſtom, but appoint new Feſtivals, either in Honour of the Saints to whom their Churches are dedicated, or whoſe Reliques are depoſited therein; and making Arbors, with branches of Trees round their Churches, the *Saxons* ſhall be allowed to kill their Oxen, and Feaſt, and enjoy themſelves, as they did in their former Pagan ſtate; only they ſhall offer their Thanks and Praiſes unto God. (*d*)

(*d*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 19 *Epiſt.* 71. Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 30.

And the Reaſons upon which this Advice is founded, are the difficulties of drawing of Men from long continued Uſages; the example of God, in allowing the *Iſraelites* the uſe of the *Egyptian* Sacrifices; and the hopes, by ſuch Indulgence, to bring the Converts, in time, to a better ſenſe of their Duty to God. The Reaſons of *Gregory* admit of much diſpute, but the Advice has

has a danger attends it too viſible to be the ſubject of a Queſtion.

And the Succeſs was ſuch as might be expected from ſuch a beginning; for this unhappy Error took ſuch root amongſt the *Engliſh*, that about forty Years after *Ercombert* King of *Kent* was forced to forbid thoſe Idolatrous Practices, by a Law (*a*) which had at firſt been allowed to his Anceſtors: And the Council of *Calcuith*, (*b*) near two hundred Years after the coming of *Auſtin*, takes notice of the Reliques of Paganiſm, then remaining amongſt the *Engliſh*: And it may be, without looking further than the Reaſons and Conduct of *Gregory*, one has a juſt view of the original of thoſe Uſages which in time became a burthen and a reproach to the Weſtern Church, and of the Reaſons which firſt introduc'd them.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 7.

(*b*) *Concil. Britan, Vol.* I. *pag.* 299.

SECT. X. It ſeems probable, that this Method preſcribed by *Gregory* to win the *Engliſh*, was the ſame that had before been made uſe of in the Converſion of the *Franks*, and ſuch of the Northern People as had ſettled themſelves in the Southern Parts of *France*, who had been allow'd to introduce their Images into Churches; and the conſequence of this was ſo groſs and viſible an Idolatry in the Worſhip thereof, that *Serenus*, at this time Biſhop of *Marſelles*, at once to ſhew his deteſtation of their Sins, and to prevent the like for the future, cauſed their Images to be taken down and caſt out of the Churches belonging to his Dioceſs, and broke them to pieces.

This Inſtance of the Zeal of *Serenus*, for the purity of the Chriſtian Worſhip, was ſo ill received at *Rome*, and his Reaſons ſo little conſidered, that notwithſtanding the 'foreſaid Miſcarriage, and the viſible danger which attended the indulging the new Converts in their ancient Uſages: In the compaſs of this Year *Gregory* not only blamed the Conduct of *Serenus*, but ſent the 'foreſaid Inſtructions by *Mellitus* to *Auſtin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and as his Epiſtles to *Serenus*, and *Mellitus* bear date the ſame Year, ſo are his Advices bottomed on Reaſons of the ſame kind. He tells *Serenus*, that he ſhould not have broken down their Images, leſt by ſo doing, or by his not ſuffering them to be introduced into Churches he ſhould prejudice the Pagans (amongſt whom

whom he lived) againſt the Chriſtian Religion (*a*); and indeed thus much is evident, that the Pagans, whoſe Rites were in every thing elſe very different, univerſally agreed in the uſe of Images, in their Worſhip, or ſome other Symbol and viſible Repreſentation. And as the continuance of this uſage would probably bring them more eaſily to ſubmit to the Chriſtian Worſhip, ſo it doubtleſs made it much more difficult to raiſe their Minds to a juſt Idea of the Divine Being; or to carry their Worſhip beyond the viſible Object.

(*a*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 9. *Epiſt.* 9.

So that when one reflects on the ſtate of the Weſtern Nations, and judges of the Rules of their Converſion, by the Conduct and Directions of *Gregory*, the occaſions of the Errors and Corruptions in the Weſtern Church, lie as open and viſible as the Inundations and Ravages of the Northern People on the Weſtern Empire; for they who brought this rude People into the Church, ſuffered them to bring a great ſhare of their ancient Errors and Uſages along with them; and indeed no good can ever be expected, when Men pretend to ſerve God, by diſobeying Him, and preſume to do Evil that Good may come.

SECT. XI. Whereas in the firſt Converſions of the Nations, by the Apoſtles, and their immediate Followers, the greateſt care was uſed, not only to bring the Converts to a juſt Idea of the Goſpel Revelation, and conduct their Devotions by the general Rules thereof; but as far as it was poſſible to leave no footſteps of the Pagan Worſhip; and upon this Ground, the uſe of Images, and the Rites of the ancient Gentile Worſhip, were entirely baniſhed, and a plaineſs and ſimplicity, ſuited to the Worſhip of God in Spirit and Truth generally introduced; and great Marks of this primitive Plaineſs appear in the Worſhip of the *Britiſh* and *Scots*, at the time of *Auſtin*'s coming; whereas in that Worſhip which *Auſtin* introduced, and which had been fitted for the Northern People, who in this and in two preceding Ages had been brought into the Church, there appears abundance of new Rites, and Pomp and Ceremonies, which the *Britiſh* and *Scots* were utterly unacquainted with; and this Conſideration ſeems to have occaſioned the mighty averſion of the *Britiſh*, *Scots*, and *Picts* to the *Saxon* Worſhip, and thoſe who came from *Rome* to introduce it.

For their not ſubmitting to the Juriſdiction *Auſtin* pretended to, they had Reaſons of another kind, and which will be conſidered in the proper place; but ſuch was the averſion the Scotiſh Chriſtians ſhewed to all Communion with thoſe that came from *Rome*, that *Dagamus*, a *Scotch* Biſhop, refuſed not only to eat with them, but ſo much as to lodge with them in the ſame Houſe; (*a*) and ſo general was the averſion of the *Britiſh* Chriſtians, to the Doctrine and Worſhip planted amongſt the *Engliſh*, by *Auſtin* and his Followers; and to ſuch degrees did it ariſe, that in the Year 633, which was about thirty ſix Years after the firſt Converſions by *Auſtin*, *Bede* ſaith,

(*a*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 4.

To this day the Britons *continue ſuch averſion to the Faith and Worſhip of the* Engliſh, *that they make no account thereof, and will no more Communicate with them than with Pagans.*

Uſque hodie moris ſit Britonum, fidem Religionemque Anglorum, pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis magis communicare quam Paganis. Bed. Eccl. Hiſt. Lib. 2. cap. 20.

And he that will aſcribe all this to the different manner of obſerving the *Eaſter* Feſtival, muſt have a very contemptible Idea of all that were concerned in this Quarrel.

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(*b*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 12. *Epiſt.* 15.
(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 29.

Gregory

Gregory further directed, that the two Metropolitans ſhould each of them have twelve Suffragan Biſhops, within their reſpective Provinces: But at the Death of *Auſtin*, that the Metropolitical See ſhould be removed from *Canterbury* to *London*; and that after that remove the Primacy ſetled on the Perſon of *Auſtin* ſhould ceaſe; and the Archbiſhops of *London* and *York* take place according to the Priority of their Conſecration.

SECT. XIII. As for the *Britiſh* Clergy, that Model ſubjects them, as *Gregory* had done in another Reſcript, to the Juriſdiction and Authority of *Auſtin*. When one compares theſe Epiſtles of *Gregory*, with thoſe which upon his firſt advancement to the See of *Rome*, he wrote to the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jeruſalem*, and other Biſhops of the Catholick Church; and the ſolemn Profeſſion he therein makes, that he received the Faith and Canons of the four firſt Councils of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, and *Chalcedon*, with the veneration with which he received the four Goſpels of the Evangeliſts (*a*); and conſiders the Zeal and Warmth with which he oppoſed the Pretentions of his Friend and Confident *John*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, to the Name and Title of Univerſal Biſhop (*b*), aſſuming to himſelf the Title of *Servant to the Servants of God* (*c*). One finds it very difficult to reconcile *Gregory*'s profeſſions and ſhews of Humility, and zeal for the Canons, to that Authority he aſſumed in his Inſtructions to *Auſtin*, and in the Model he ſent over to *England*.

(*a*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 1. *Epiſt.* 24.

(*b*) Greg. *Ep. Lib.* 4. *Ep.* 32, 34, 36.

(*c*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 4. *Epiſt.* 32.

Thus much is evident, paſt all poſſibility of Diſpute, from the Epiſtles of *Gregory*, that the pretence to an univerſal Paſtorſhip, by a Divine Right, was not ſo much as thought of at *Rome* in his Time; and it is as evident from his Writings, that the Canons of the Church were yet thought the meaſure of the Patriarchal Power; ſo that it is very odd and ſurpriſing, to ſee this great Prelate, at the ſame time, breaking and aſſerting the Authority of the Canons. The pretence of thoſe who juſtifie him upon the Patriarchal Power ſhall be conſider'd in another place.

SECT. XIV. But if the Conduct of *Gregory* be excuſable, it is not by the late pretence to an univerſal Paſtorſhip, nor that of his Patriarchal Power; for it is certain, that the firſt was then unknown, and the latter had

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had not extended it ſelf to *Britain*: But there is this to be ſaid, that the caſe of the *Engliſh* Church ſeems to lie without the Proviſion of the Canons, which had confined their care to eſtabliſhed Churches, but left Churches unformed, to the Prudence and Charity of thoſe who ſhould be the happy Inſtruments in converting Pagan Nations; and tho' this was not directly the caſe of the *Britiſh*, yet it was a reaſonable preſumption, that in time their Church would follow the fate of their Country.

So that the appointment of *Gregory* in this particular, ſeems to be no other, than what the natural courſe of things would have produc'd, had he ſpared his Directions; and however new this thought may ſeem, yet the event will ſhew, that the *Engliſh*, as well as the *Britons*, acted as if they had been acquainted with no other Authority, but what aroſe from the Wiſdom and Charity of that Prelate. But if they knew any thing of the univerſal Paſtorſhip, or of a Patriarchal Power, which extended to theſe Nations, it is plain, they acted as if they had been entirely Strangers to all pretentions of that kind.

For thus much is evident, that the *Britons* did, in the moſt ſolemn and moſt publick manner that was poſſible, diſavow the Authority of *Gregory*; and the *Engliſh* did not go one ſtep further in the purſuit thereof, than they were led to it by their Convenience or Intereſt, but for the moſt part acted contrary to it in every Inſtance. Tho' *Gregory* appointed that the See of the firſt Metropolitan ſhould, upon the Death of *Auſtin*, be removed to *London*; yet *Canterbury* retains the Honour to this Day, and the Biſhops of *London* have been almoſt ever ſince Suffragans to the Prelates of that See; and the priority of Conſecration, never gave the Archbiſhops of *York* precedence to thoſe of *Canterbury*, till the See of *York* fell into the hands of Men who had ſo much Ambition, and ſo little Wiſdom, as to fight for precedence.

Nor were his Directions, as to the number of Suffragans, one jot better obeyed, for it was almoſt one Age before the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* were generally owned as Primates of the *Engliſh* Church, and near five Ages before their Authority was generally received by the *Britons*; beſides, it was long before the Archbiſhops of

of *Canterbury* came to have twelve Suffragans, but the Province of *York* has never obtained half that number to this Day. But from this general view it is time to return to review the particulars of these Affairs in the order which they possess in the following Story.

CHAP. III.

Ab Anno 601 ad Annum 633.

SECT. I. AUstin *attempts to oblige the* Britons *to own his Authority, and obtains a Conference in order thereunto, is unsuccessful.*

SECT. II. *A second Conference with the* Britons.

SECT. III. *Terms of Union offered to the* Britons. Austin's *undecent Behaviour. The Account the* British *Writers give of this Conference. The Authority of* Austin *rejected by the* British *Bishops: The Reasons thereof. The* British *Church continues its independance on the Archbishops of* Canterbury.

SECT. IV. *Pretences of the Writers of the* Romish *Church, to palliate the* Britons *rejecting the Authority of Pope* Gregory: *The Truth thereof owned by* Baronius. *The Conduct of the* Britons *justified, by the Canons and Usages of the Catholick Church.*

SECT. V. *The Massacre of the* British *Clergy: This ascribed to* Austin: *The grounds of that Charge.* Austin *said by some Writers to go to* York, *and baptize some of the Northern* English: *The grounds of that and other Mistakes concerning* Austin.

SECT. VI. Austin *consecrates three new Bishops. The Death of* Austin: *The difference about the time thereof. Part of the Kingdom of* Kent *only Converted by him. The state of the Church at his Death.*

SECT. VII. Laurentius *succeeds* Austin, *follows his Steps, attempts to bring the* Scots *and* Britons *to own his Authority, is unsuccessful. The* Scotish *Clergy refuse all Conversation with the* Romish *Missionaries.*

SECT. VIII. *The People of* Essex *and* Middlesex *converted by* Mellitus. *His See fixed at* London. *A Cathedral Church dedicated to St.* Paul *there built.* Boni-

face, *Biſhop of* Rome, *obtains the Title of Univerſal Biſhop. The Goſpel makes no progreſs in* England.

SECT. IX. Ethelbert *dies, and Paganiſm revives in* Kent. Mellitus *driven from his See. The People of* Eſſex *and* Middleſex *caſt off their Chriſtianity. The Miſſionaries deſpair of preſerving the new Church, and agree to leave* England *and return to* Rome. *The Biſhops of* London *and* Rocheſter *fly to* France.

SECT. X. Laurentius *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *prepares to leave* England, *is prevented by a pretended Viſion, converts the new King of* Kent, *and brings back part of the People of that Kingdom to the Chriſtian Faith. The Biſhops of* London *and* Rocheſter *are recalled from* France. *The People of* London *return to their Idolatry, refuſe to receive their Biſhop. The ſad ſtate of the Church at the Death of* Laurentius *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

SECT. XI. Mellitus *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. Paulinus *made a Biſhop, and ſent to the Court of the King of* Northumberland: *The occaſion thereof: He baptizes the Daughter of that Prince.*

SECT. XII. Edwin, *King of the* Northumbrians, *converted: The Means and Conſequences thereof. The People of* York, *and a great part of the* North *follow his Example. An Epiſcopal See founded at* York: Paulinus *made Biſhop thereof.* Honorius, *Biſhop of* Rome, *ſends him a Pall, and pretended to make him an Archbiſhop.*

SECT. XIII. *The King of the* Eaſt-Angles *is converted; and with them part of* Norfolk *and* Suffolk. *Some parts of* Lincolnſhire *converted by* Paulinus. Honorius, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *conſecrated at* Lincoln.

SECT. XIV. *The People of the* North *return to Idolatry.* Paulinus, *their Biſhop, flies to* Kent, *and is made Biſhop of* Rocheſter.

SECT. XV. *The People of* Norfolk, Suffolk, *and* Lincolnſhire *relapſe to Paganiſm.*

Anno 601 SECT. I. *Auſtin* having received the 'foreſaid Powers and Inſtructions from *Gregory*, preſently applied himſelf to put them into practice; and the *Britons* were the firſt ſubject of his Care, whether it was, that the enlarging of his own Authority and of the Authority

thority of him that ſent him, by the ſubmiſſion of the *Britiſh* Church, being thought of greater moment than the enlarging the Kingdom of *Chriſt*, by the converſion of the Pagan *Engliſh*, gave begining to this Zeal of *Auſtin*? or whether it was the Intereſt of the Prince who had received him into his Dominions, and would doubtleſs have found his Account in it, had the *Britons* ſubmitted to the Archbiſhop of his Kingdom? Theſe are Queſtions which the conduct of *Auſtin* would very naturally lead one to: And the Ambition and Vanity of the Man, and the Authority of the Biſhops of *Rome*, had ſo viſible an Intereſt in the Zeal of that Prelate, as would almoſt tempt one to think it was ſome ſuch conſideration gave beginning to it.

But whatever his Views were, having the Favour and Intereſt of *Ethelbert*, he made uſe of them to obtain a Conference with the *Britons* in the Year 601. Their Meeting-Place was from thence, in after-times, called *Auguſtinſac*, or *Auſtin's-Oak*, in the confines of the *Wiccii* and *Weſt-Saxons*. The Council being aſſembled, *Auſtin* propoſed, firſt, that the *Britons* ſhould embrace the unity of the Catholick Church, and then join with them in preaching to the *Engliſh*. *Bede* ſaith of the *Britons*, they did many things contrary to the unity of the Church, beſides their not obſerving the Feaſt of *Eaſter* in a due manner (*a*); ſo that however reaſonable the firſt propoſition of *Auſtin* may appear at firſt ſight, upon a juſt conſideration thereof it appears a very artful and comprehenſive Article, and ſuch as muſt neceſſarily draw after it conſequences of the firſt moment to the *Britiſh* Church; and therefore, after all the Perſwaſions, the Arts and Reproaches of *Auſtin*, and, as *Bede* ſaith, a miraculous curing of a Blind Man, to prove the Authority of his Traditions, this Meeting came to no other Iſſue but this, that the *Britons* would adviſe upon what had paſſed, and give *Auſtin* a ſecond Meeting.

(*a*) Bed. Eccl. Hiſt. Lib. 2. cap. 2.

SECT. II. The *Britons* being returned, and having conſidered the importance of the Matter, with the application it deſerved, they could not but be ſenſible, that the Honour and Intereſt of King *Ethelbert* were concerned in the ſucceſs of it; and that their refuſal might poſſibly draw the reſentment of that Prince upon them; and this conſideration, together with the guilt of Schiſm, which

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which the conſequence of *Auſtin*'s Arguments charged upon them, did deſerve their ſerious deliberation, nor were they wanting therein; but, as *Bede* obſerves, after the matter had been well conſidered amongſt themſelves, they applied themſelves to an Anchoret of great reputation among them for his Holineſs and Wiſdom, and inquired of him whether they ought to quit the Cuſtoms of their Anceſtors, and ſubmit to *Auſtin*? to which he anſwered, that if *Auſtin* was a Man of God, they ought to follow him: And when the *Britons* replied, how ſhould they know whether he was a Man of God? he anſwered, they ſhould judge of his Character by the Temper and Conduct of the Man that ſupported it; if he was Meek and Humble, he was the Diſciple of him who had taught Men to know his Yoak by the Meekneſs and Humility of thoſe that bore it: And further added, that by the condeſcention and gentleneſs with which he treated them, they ſhould judge of his Temper and Spirit.

After ſome time thus ſpent, ſeven of the *Britiſh* Biſhops, together with *Dinoth*, Abbot of *Bangor*, and many other very learned Men, came at Time and Place appointed, to give *Auſtin* a ſecond Meeting (*a*).

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 2.

SECT. III. The *Britons* having ſo contrived it, that *Auſtin* ſhould be ſeated in the place of Meeting, before they entred, *Auſtin* did not ſo much as riſe from his Seat to receive them, which, as *Bede* adds, raiſed the Reſentment of the *Britons* ſo far, that they ſet themſelves to oppoſe the Arguments of *Auſtin* and his Followers. However, after ſome time ſpent to no purpoſe, *Auſtin* thus addreſſed himſelf to the *Britons*.

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In many things, ſaith he, *you act contrary to our Cuſtoms, and indeed to the Uſages of the univerſal Church; notwithſtanding if ye will obey me in theſe three things*, viz. *in obſerving the* Eaſter-*Feſtival after our manner.* 2. *Uſing the ſame Rites and Ceremonies in Baptiſm, which are uſed by the Holy* Roman *Church, and by the Apoſtolick Church.* 3. *And join with us in preaching to the* Engliſh; *in other things, which ye do contrary to our Cuſtoms, we will bear with you.* To all which the *Britains* anſwered, *That they would not comply with him in any one of theſe Particulars, nor own him for their Archbiſhop.* To whom *Auſtin* replied, with Threats, *That if they would not accept of Peace from their Brethren, they muſt expect War from their Ene-*

Enemies; *and if they would not preach the Word of Life to the* Engliſh, *they ſhould ſuffer Death by their hands.*

This is the Account that *Bede* gives of this Affair (*a*), but it is well obſerved, by a late learned and judicious Prelate from *Leland* (*b*), that the *Britiſh* Writers give a more ample account of this Matter than is extant in *Bede*, who is thought to be very ſparing in what concerns the *Britiſh* Affairs: But from the *Britiſh* Writers *Leland* obſerves, *That* Dinoth *did at large diſpute with great Learning and Gravity againſt the receiving the Authority of the Pope, or of* Auguſtin, *and defended the Power of the Archbiſhop of St.* David's; *and affirmed it not for the* Britiſh *Intereſt, to own either the* Roman *Pride, or the* Saxon *Tyranny* (*c*); *and that they knew of no Obedience due to him that* Auguſtin *called the Pope, but what they owed to every Chriſtian*; *for the* Britiſh *Biſhops had no ſuperior but the Biſhop of* Caerleon *upon* Uske (*d*). And *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, though a wonderful Zealot for the Authority of the Biſhops of *Rome*, has not only obſerv'd, (*e*) that *Bede* has no where mentioned any ſubmiſſion of the *Britiſh* Churches to *Auſtin* or his Succeſſors, though conſtituted Metropolitans thereof by the Biſhops of *Rome*; but has given ſuch proof, that the *Britiſh* Church was, for ſeveral Ages after the coming of *Auſtin*, govern'd by its own Metropolitans, without ſo much as owning the Primacy of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*; and his Proofs are ſo well aſcertained by Matters of Fact, that there ſeems no ground to doubt, but that Church continued its freedom and independance till a change in the Affairs of the *Britiſh* Nation did, in after Ages, bring both their Church and State to ſubmit to the *Engliſh* Eſtabliſhment.

(*a*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

(*b*) *Antiquit. Brit. Ch. cap.* 5. *p.* 359.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 108.

(*e*) *Angliæ Sac. Pars* II. *pag.* 542, & 543.

SECT. IV. Theſe Accounts lie ſo croſs to the Sentiments of thoſe Men, who have formed a Judgment of the ancient Rights of the Biſhops of *Rome*, from the Power they have of late poſſeſſed, or pretended to, that as the foreſaid learned and judicious Prelate has obſerv'd, (*f*) great Pains have been taken to obſcure or pervert them. Sometimes they pretend, that *Gregory* did not give *Auſtin* Power over the *Britiſh* Church: Sometimes, that he did not inſiſt upon it (*g*): Sometimes they quarrel the Manuſcript from whence part of this Account is taken. But when all is ſaid, *Baronius*, according to

(*f*) *Antiquit. Brit. Church, pag.* 358.

(*g*) Ibid.

his way of ſpeaking, ſays, that the *Britons* and *Scots* had lived in a long continued Schiſm, (*a*) that is, according to his notion of Schiſm, long before the coming of *Auſtin*, they had held no external Communion with the Church of *Rome*; or, in other words, they had never thought themſelves within the Patriarchate of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and had never owned the Juriſdiction of thoſe Prelates, but governed themſelves by their own Metropolitans, as the whole Catholick Church had done before the Patriarchal Inſtitution.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 604.

And nothing is more manifeſt, than that this was the caſe of the whole Catholick Church, before the inſtitution of Patriarchs; and continued after to be the caſe of all thoſe Churches which lay without the Bounds of the new Patriarchates; and, in particular, it is as evident, that this was the caſe of the *Britiſh*, *Scotiſh*, and *Gallick* Churches, as it is, that the Council of *Epheſus* allowed the continuance of this Government to the *Cyprian* Churches in particular.

And it is no leſs evident, that that Council allowed the ſame liberty to all thoſe Churches which were not, at the time of that Council, within the Bounds of the new Patriarchates. And indeed, *Baronius* could have no other reaſon for charging the *Britons* and *Scots* with a long Schiſm, if their independance on the Church of *Rome* had not been at leaſt as ancient as the Council of *Epheſus*; for that Council was held about the Year 431, which was but about 166 Years before the coming of *Auſtin*, during which time, there is ſo little appearance of any communion or correſpondence betwixt the *Britiſh*, *Scotiſh*, and *Roman* Churches, that we are not to wonder, if *Baronius* charge the *Britons* with a long Schiſm.

But there is great reaſon to wonder at the Confidence or Ignorance of thoſe later Writers, who, after *Baronius* his Account of a laſting Schiſm, pretend to tell us, that the *Britons* did not diſown the Authority of the Biſhops of *Rome*: But if the Authority of *Baronius*, the Account of *Bede*, the Epiſtles of *Gregory* and the Britiſh Writers, were capable of being denied or miſunderſtood, the Synodical Epiſtle of *Laurentius*, Succeſſor to *Auſtin*, (*b*) and the whole ſeries and courſe of the following Tranſactions, betwixt the Miſſionaries on one hand, and the Britiſh

Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 4.

Britiſh and Scotiſh Churches on the other, put it paſt all diſpute, that the ſetting up a Foreign Juriſdiction on the one ſide, and oppoſing it on the other, was the chief ſubject of the preſent and following Controverſies.

SECT. V. Immediately after the Account of the 'foreſaid Conference. *Bede* adds, that *Edilfride*, a King of the *Engliſh*, gathering a great Army, fell upon the *Britons* near to *Caerleon*, and not only routed, and made great ſlaughter of the Britiſh Army, but fell upon their Prieſts and Monks, who, after three Days Faſting and Prayer were come into the Field; and, at ſome diſtance from the Army were praying for their Succeſs, and put twelve hundred of them to the Sword (*a*); and this, ſaith he, came to paſs juſt as *Auſtin* had foretold. *Anno* 604.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

This Relation has given occaſion to ſome to think, that *Auguſtin* having miſcarried in the hopes he had conceived of bringing the *Britons* to own his Authority, laid it ſo to Heart, that he formed that deſign, which ended in this dreadful ſlaughter of the Britiſh People; and in particular of the Monks of *Bangor*, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in oppoſing his Pretences; and the Threats of that Prelate uſed to the *Britons*, in the 'foreſaid Conference, his natural Haughtineſs, and the immediate ſubjoining of the Maſſacre of the Britiſh, to the Conference in the Hiſtory of *Bede*, have inclined ſome Men to believe, that this Prelate could be guilty of ſo prodigious a wickedneſs.

But though his raſh and unwarrantable Menaces be without excuſe, yet, ſince there is great probability on the ſide of that Opinion, that this Affair happened after the Death of *Auguſtin*, and the late learned and judicious Antiquary Mr. *Wharton* (*b*) is very warm and poſitive in this Opinion, and gives ſome Reaſons to prove, that *Auſtin* died in the Year 604, and that the ſlaughter of the *Britons* was not till ſome Years after. I ſhall only add to what he has ſaid, that *Edilfride*, by whom the Britiſh Clergy were thus treated, was King of the Northern *Engliſh*, and, in all probability, intirely unknown to *Auſtin*; and then I willingly yield to the ſide of Charity, and leave the ſlaughter of that miſerable People amongſt the Secrets of his Providence, whoſe Ways are unſearchable, and whoſe Judgments are paſt finding out.

(*b*) *Angliæ Sacræ. Pars* 1. *p.* 91.

But

But whilſt this ſad Scene remains a Secret to all the reſt of the World, *Baronius* (*a*) ſpeaks of it with ſuch degrees of aſſurance, as if he had ſeen the ſecret Spring by which it was moved: It happened, ſaith that Writer, to the *Britons*, by the *Engliſh*, as it did to the *Africans* by the *Vandals*, to the *Spaniards* by the *Saracens*, and to the *Eaſtern* People by the *Barbarians*, when they departed from the Church of *Rome*. How much had the World been obliged by ſuch ſurpriſing penetration of Mind, had this great Man proceeded in his Diſcoveries; and whilſt he was revealing the Secrets of God, let us into the reaſon of the Inundations of the Northern People, and of the havock and devaſtation they made through the Weſtern Churches? in particular, Why God ſuffered the *Goths* to take *Rome* it ſelf, to maſſacre the Biſhops and Clergy thereof, and unfold the reaſon of the infinite Miſchiefs that Church ſuffered under the *Arrian* Emperors, the *Lombards*, and not long before this Affair of the *Britons*, under a ſucceſſion of *Gothick* Kings in *Italy*, for near a hundred Years together? but that whilſt theſe things remain Secrets, that Learned Prelate ſhould be able to ſay, it was the Schiſm of the *Britons* which occaſioned their Ruine, is a Myſtery that would almoſt tempt one to think, that he knew more of that Affair, than was conſiſtent with the Honour of *Auſtin* to be made publick. But I ſhall leave this Affair in his hands to whom nothing is hid, and return to that which is ſaid to have occaſioned it; *Auſtin*'s ill Succeſs at the Conference with the *Britons*.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal An.* 604. *N.* 65.

Some of the Writers of *Auſtin*'s Life tell us, that after the 'foreſaid Conference with the *Britons*, *Auſtin* and his Followers went away to *York*, (*b*) and on *Chriſtmas-Day* following, in the River of *Swale*, baptized ten thouſand Perſons (*c*); and agreeably hereunto they have covered all his Road with Miracles: But, after all, if we may rely on the Authority of *Bede*, the Story and Miracles have the ſame original, but not the leaſt appearance of Truth; for *Bede* (*d*) and *Nennius* (*e*) agree, that *Eanfled*, or *Elfled*, Daughter of *Edwin* King of the *Northumbrians*, was the firſt Perſon of the *Northumbrians* that was baptized; and it is very evident, and ſhall be made appear, in its proper place, that that Princeſs was not born, nor her Mother married till ſome Years after the Death of

(*b*) Goſcelin. *Angliæ Sacræ. Part* II. *pag.* 66, *&* 67.
(*c*) Birching. *Angliæ Sacræ. Part* I. *p.* 1. Ranulp. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 227.
(*d*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 9.
(*e*) Nenni *Hiſtor. Britan.* XV *Script. p.* 114 *&* 117.

of *Auſtin*: And indeed, it is manifeſt, that what the 'foreſaid Writers ſay of *Auſtin*'s baptizing in the River of *Swale*, is no other than a confuſion of what *Gregory*, in his Epiſtle to *Eulogius*, (*a*) ſaith of *Auſtin*'s baptizing the Inhabitants of *Kent*, with what *Bede* (*b*) and *Nennius* (*c*) ſay of *Paulinus*'s baptizing the *Northumbrians*; the former about the Year 597, the latter about the Year 627.

(*a*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 7. *Epiſt.* 30.
(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 14.
(*c*) Nennii *Hiſt. Brit.* XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 114.

So that thoſe Accounts of the 'foreſaid Writers ſeem equally injurious to the Truth, and to the Miſſionaries from *Rome*: And yet ſome of our Writers are ſo fond of ſuch groundleſs Tales, that *Ranulphus* from *Malmſbury* gives us ſuch another Story of *Auſtin*'s baptizing near the place where the Abby of *Cernelle* was afterwards built in *Dorſetſhire*; and ſaith, from that Writer, that in order to the ſaid Baptiſm, by the efficacy of his Prayers, *Auſtin* miraculouſly gave beginning to the Fountain wherein that Office was performed: (*d*) And yet one has much ado to forbear thinking, that this Story is nothing elſe but a Scene of Invention, owing to the Monks of that Abby.

(*d*) Polychron. *Lib.* 5. XV *Scriptor. pag.* 255.

At leaſt thus much is evident, that *Bede*, who ſeems to have a particular Paſſion for the Honour of *Auſtin*, is not only ſilent in this Affair, but ſaith, that the *Weſt-Saxons* were not converted till the coming of *Birinus*, (*e*) who came not into *England* till about twenty Years after the Death of *Auſtin*: And yet that Writer (*f*) and the *Saxon* Chronicle agree, (*g*) that *Birinus* not only found that People in their Paganiſm, but that *Birinus* was the firſt Perſon that preached the Goſpel to them (*h*), and which makes the Zeal of that Prelate ſtill brighter: *Bede* ſaith, (*i*) that the very reaſon which moved him to go to the Weſt of *England*, was, that he might have the Honour of being the firſt Perſon who had preached the Goſpel to that Kingdom. The ſame Spirit of Vanity poſſeſſed the Monks of *Ely*, who, to magnifie the Antiquity of that Foundation, endeavoured to poſſeſs the World with a belief, that *Auſtin* was the firſt Founder of their Monaſtery, in the Year 607: (*k*) And yet 'tis very evident, that the whole Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, of which the Iſle of *Ely* was a part, continued in Paganiſm till after the Death of *Auſtin*. Nor is the Legendary Writer of *Auſtin*'s Life content to confine the glory of that Prelate to the bounds of *England*, but carries

(*e*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 7.
(*f*) Ibid.
(*g*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 634.
(*h*) Ibid.
(*i*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 7.
(*k*) *Hiſtor.* Elienſis *Ang. Sac. Par.* I. *pag.* 594.

him alſo into *Scotland*, and has oblig'd the World with an account of the Proſelites he made there (*a*) : And this is as true as the preceding Accounts of him : And if *America* had been known time enough, he might, upon as good ground, have made him the Apoſtle of the *Indies*, as a Preacher to the *Scots*.

(*a*) Goſcelin. *Vit. Auguſt. Angl. Sac. Par.* II. *p.* 69.

Anno 604. SECT. VI. But all that we can depend upon, after this unſucceſsful Conference, is, that *Auſtin* in the Year 604 conſecrated three Biſhops, *viz. Mellitus*, to preach to the *Eaſt-Saxons* ; *Juſtus*, to be Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, within the Kingdom of *Kent* ; and *Laurentius* to ſucceed him in the See of *Canterbury* (*b*). This was then the State of the *Saxon* Church at the Death of *Auſtin*, whether we place his Death in the Year 604, as Mr. *Wharton* (*c*) ; in the Year 607, as *Mabillon*, or ſome Years later, as ſome other Writers have done. A great part of the Kingdom of *Kent* had received the Chriſtian Faith : The Cathedrals of *Canterbury* and *Rocheſter* were begun ; and ſome other Churches, founded by the *Britons*, were repaired ; and ſome Proviſions made for the Education and Subſiſtance of the Clergy : All which was chiefly owing to the Piety and Magnificence of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* ; and the Zeal and Labours of *Auſtin* and his Followers.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 3.

(*c*) *Ang. Sac. Par.* I. *p.* 91.

But as to all the reſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, there does not appear the leaſt Step made towards their Converſion, before the Death of *Auſtin*, unleſs the Conſecration of *Mellitus*, who was afterwards ſent to the *Eaſt-Saxons*, ought to be ſo accounted.

Anno 604. SECT. VII. Thus then ſtood the Affairs of the *Engliſh Saxon* Church, at the Death of *Auſtin* ; and it is agreed on all hands, that *Laurentius* ſucceeded him ; tho' our Hiſtorians are at odds about the time of his Advancement : But thus much is paſt diſpute, that he came to that See whilſt *Ethelbert* continued King of *Kent* ; and this rendred *Gregory*'s Model of the *Engliſh* Church, on a double account, impracticable ; for *London* was yet unconverted ; and had it been otherwiſe, *Ethelbert*, doubtleſs, would not have ſuffered the See of *Canterbury* to be removed out of the bounds of his Kingdom, nor his Biſhops to ſubmit to a Metropolitan, whoſe Seat was in the Dominions of another Prince.

And

And therefore *Laurentius* continued the Chair at *Canterbury*; and as he followed *Auſtin* herein, ſo he imitated the Methods of his Zeal; and was no ſooner ſeated, but he reſumed the Attempt of *Auſtin*, and applied himſelf to bring the *Britons* and the *Scots* to change their ancient Uſages, in celebrating the Feaſt of *Eaſter*; and in order thereunto ſent Synodical Epiſtles, both to the *Scotch* and *Britiſh* Biſhops, and Abbots, (*a*) but thoſe ſucceeded no better than the Conference of *Auſtin*; but, on the contrary, the breach grew ſo wide, that the *Scotch* Chriſtians refuſed all converſation with that Prelate, and the *Roman* Miſſionaries. (*b*)

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib* 2. *Cap.* 4.

(*b*) Ibid.

SECT. VIII. But the Intereſt of *Ethelbert*, and the Bleſſing of God on the Labours of *Mellitus*, made the Miſſionaries more ſucceſsful in an Affair that better merited their Care, their Zeal, and their Prayers; and this was the converſion of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, inhabiting the Counties of *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*. *Seber*, Siſters Son to *Ethelbert*, was at that time King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*; he was a tributary Prince to his Uncle *Ethelbert*, (*c*) and by his Influence and Example ſo well diſpoſed to receive the Chriſtian Religion, that in the Year 604 *Mellitus* was conſecrated Biſhop by *Auſtin*, that under the advantage of that Character he might be better fitted for the Converſion of the *Eaſt-Saxons*: And the ſame Year he was ſent to the Court of King *Seber*, (*d*) who, together with multitudes of his Subjects, received the Chriſtian Religion, and were baptized. And a new Biſhoprick was founded, and the Seat thereof fixed at *London*, by the appointment of *Ethelbert* (*e*). And by his Munificence and Charity, the foundation of a Cathedral Church, by the Name of St. *Paul*'s, was begun. (*f*)

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 3.

(*d*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 604.

(*e*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 3. *Et Chron. Sax. An.* 604.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in *Britain*, *Gregory* the Great, *Sabinian*, and *Boniface* the Third, his immediate Succeſſors died; and about the Year 606 *Boniface* the Fourth poſſeſſed himſelf of their Chair, and of the pompous Title of Univerſal Biſhop, which his immediate Predeceſſors had firſt obtained from the Emperor *Phocas*, and which *Gregory* the Great had, but a very few Years before ſo loudly exclaimed againſt. During the Time of *Boniface*, and about the Year 610, *Mellitus*, the new Biſhop of *London* went to *Rome*, to concert with *Boniface* the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church, (*g*) and returned

(*f*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 3.

(*g*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 4.

turned with Letters from that Prelate to *Ethelbert*.

But it ſeems, by the following Story, that notwithſtanding the Zeal and Vigour with which *Ethelbert* and *Seber*, and the Miſſionaries, carried on the Chriſtian Intereſt, that it went on but very heavily; and if it made any further progreſs before the Death of thoſe Princes, *Bede* has paſſed it over in ſilence, and we hear no more of the growth of that new Church, till a new Cloud overſpread it, and the Enemies to the Truth bid fair for the intire extirpation of the new-planted Church and Goſpel of Chriſt.

Anno 613. SECT. IX. For *Ethelbert* died the beginning of this Year (*a*), and his Nephew *Seber* not long after, and they being the great ſupports of the Chriſtian Intereſt, upon the Death of thoſe Princes every thing ran into confuſion, Paganiſm revived again, and made ſo bold an effort, as at once overwhelmed the Chriſtian Church, and the Zeal and Courage of thoſe who ſhould have ſupported it; for *Eadbald*, Son and Succeſſor to *Ethelbert*, either had not been converted to the Chriſtian Faith, or if he had, upon his coming to the Crown, he renounced it. (*b*)

(*a*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 5.

(*b*) Ibid.

And that his Wickedneſs might bear proportion to his Apoſtacy, he married the Wife of his Father, and having given liberty to reſtore the Pagan Worſhip (*c*), thoſe whom the fear of *Ethelbert* had brought to profeſs Chriſt, (*d*) did, by inclination, follow the Example of their new Prince; and notwithſtanding all the Addreſs and Zeal of the Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *Rocheſter*, and their Clergy, the Apoſtacies of their People were very numerous, and the Chriſtian Church, in the Kingdom of *Kent*, reduced to circumſtances very ſad and deplorable. The caſe of the *Eaſt-Saxon* Church was, if poſſible, ſtill ſadder; for *Seber* left three Sons, who ſucceeded in that Kingdom, but had never been converted to the Chriſtian Faith (*e*); and they not only refuſed to be baptized, upon the ſollicitation of *Mellitus*, but treated the moſt ſacred Offices of Religion with the utmoſt contempt and ſcorn (*f*), and, after ſome time, drove *Mellitus* out of their Kingdom (*g*); and the Church being yet new and unſettled, the Flock was quickly and eaſily ſcattered when the Shepherd was fled.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

The

The Condition of the Church of *Kent*, tho' very deplorable, was not ſo ſad as that of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, Chriſtianity was there of older growth, and better rooted, and was not ſo eaſily diſpoſſeſſed; and therefore *Mellitus*, the exiled Biſhop of *London*, fled thither, and after conſultation with *Laurentius* the Archbiſhop, and *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, it was concluded, by common conſent, that it was in vain to ſtruggle againſt the Apoſtacy that was every where broke in upon the Church, with a force not to be reſiſted; and therefore it was reſolved that they would all leave *Britain*, and return to *Rome* again, (*a*) and in purſuance of this Reſolution *Mellitus* and *Juſtus* preſently withdrew, and went over to *France*. (*b*)

(*a*) Ibid.

(*b*) Ibid.

SECT. X. The Archbiſhop *Laurentius* had a little more reſolution, but not ſo much as his Character, and the cauſe of God required from him; for tho' he ſtaid behind them, it ſeems to be chiefly to prepare the better for his departure; but having prepared for his departure, the Night before he was to go, he fixed upon a new and ſurpriſing way of taking leave of his Church, and having cauſed his Bed to be laid in his Cathedral Church, he took up his Lodging there; during the Night, as *Bede* ſaith, (*c*) St. *Peter* appeared to him, and having reproach'd him for his Cowardice, he ſo ſcourg'd the Shoulders of that Prelate, as to leave ſome Marks of his Laſhes upon his Body; with which, ſaith the ſame Hiſtorian, he went the next Day to the King; and having ſhewed him what he had ſuffered, ſo wrought upon that Prince, that he preſently changed both his Faith and Morals, and became at once a Chriſtian and a new Man. (*d*)

(*c*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 6.

(*d*) Ibid.

Whether this Miracle, as *Bede* calls it, be owing to God, or the Age, I ſhall leave others to judge; and return to that which cannot be the ſubject of diſpute. *Eadbald*, King of *Kent*, renounced his Idolatry, and his Inceſtuous Marriage, and, turning Chriſtian, gave all encouragement to the Affairs of the Church (*e*); and as this gave a check to the growth of Paganiſm, ſo it lent new Zeal and Courage to the diſpairing Archbiſhop, andnew Life to the Chriſtian Cauſe.

(*e*) Ibid.

Eadbald, King of *Kent*, being thus converted, ſent to *France*, to recall *Mellitus* and *Juſtus* (*f*), who, about a Year after their flight, returned to *England* again (*g*);

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

and the See of *Rocheſter* lying within the Kingdom of *Kent*, the King reſtored *Juſtus* to his See (*a*); but all the Intereſt he had was not ſufficient to reſtore *Mellitus*; for the *Londoners*, who were now univerſally returned to their old Idolatry, would not ſuffer the reſtoration of their Biſhop (*b*); and *Radbald* had not power enough to reſtore him without their conſent (*c*). In this low condition continued the *Engliſh* Church, till the Death of *Laurentius*, about the Year 619.

(*a*) Ibid.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

Anno 619. SECT. XI. *Mellitus*, who, from the time of his return from *France*, had lived as a private Man, on the Death of *Laurentius* immediately ſucceeded him in the See of *Canterbury*; in which ſtation he continued about five Years, and then dying, *Juſtus*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, ſucceeded him; the *Engliſh* Church being all this while confined to *Kent*; but, during his Government, God opened a way to enlarge the pale of the Church; the occaſion this: *Edwin*, who was at this time King of the *Northumbrians*, and the moſt powerful of the *Saxon* Princes, but yet a Pagan, did, about the Year 625, marry *Edelberge*, Daughter of *Ethelbert*, and Siſter of *Eadbald*, King of *Kent*. (*d*)

Anno 625.

(*d*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 9.

Amongſt other Articles of Marriage it was agreed, that *Tate* or *Edelberg*, for by both theſe Names ſhe was called, who had, from her Infancy, been bred a Chriſtian, ſhould be allowed the publick exerciſe of her Religion (*e*); and therefore *Paulinus*, being conſecrated Biſhop this Year, was ſent to attend that Princeſs to the North (*f*); in which ſtation that Prelate continued, but without any ſucceſs in his Miniſtry (*g*), till the Queen was the Year following brought to Bed of a Daughter; about which time a Conſpiracy was formed againſt the Life of the King, and an attempt was made to aſſaſſinate him, in which attempt the King was dangerouſly wounded, but recovered of his Wounds.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

Theſe circumſtances having prepared his Mind, by calling him to reflect on the uncertainty of Life, and the certainty of a State to come, he gave ſome hopes of his becoming a Chriſtian; and, as an evidence of this diſpoſition, he conſented to the Baptiſm of his Daughter, who was baptized by *Paulinus*, by the Name of *Eanfled* (*h*); and, to make that more memorable, twelve of her Family and Attendance were baptized with her.

(*h*) Ibid.

This

This Princeſs was the firſt Perſon of the *Northumbrian* People that was baptized. (*a*)

(*a*) Ibid.

SECT. XII. It appears that the Queen was not wanting, on her part, to bring over the King to the Chriſtian Faith; and, amongſt others, *Boniface* IV, Biſhop of *Rome*, had a conſiderable part therein; for by an Epiſtle wrote to the King he ſhewed him the folly of the Pagan Worſhip, and endeavoured to raiſe his Mind to a juſt ſenſe of the Divine Being, and give him a true Idea both of the nature and beauty of Religion (*b*). *Paulinus* was not wanting on his part; but, after all, the King remained fixed and unmovable from the Uſages of his Anceſtors, for about two Years after the coming of *Paulinus*; but having, together with his Nobility, well weighed the reaſon and grounds of the Chriſtian Religion, he was baptized at *York*, at *Eaſter*, in the Year 627 (*c*); and abundance of the Nobility and People followed his Example; and amongſt them *Offrid* and *Eadfride*, two of his Sons by Queen *Bury*, a former Wife, and Daughter of *Ceorl*, a King of the *Mercians*: But *Nennius* adds to this account of *Bede*, and ſaith, that, together with *Edwin*, there were, in one Day, baptized twelve thouſand Men (*d*). And for about ſix Years after the converſion of this Prince, things went on in this proſperous manner; during which time *Paulinus* brought over great numbers to the Faith of Chriſt.

Anno 627.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib* 2. *cap.* 10.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Nennii *Hiſt. Brit.* XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 117.

Things being brought to this paſs, *Edwin* founded an Epiſcopal See at *York*, and begun the foundation of a Cathedral there (*e*); and ſuch haſt did he make to do Honour to the See he had founded, that he ſent to *Honorius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, and received a Pall from him, and the Title of Metropolitan for *Paulinus* (*f*); and this before any other Epiſcopal See was planted within his Kingdom; a practiſe the Chriſtian Church had been hitherto ſo little acquainted with, that this haſty Zeal, in applying the Title of Metropolitan to a Biſhop who had yet no Suffragan, ſeems no other way excuſable, than by the obligation it laid upon King *Edwin*, to haſten the general Converſion of his Subjects; and, by founding new Biſhopricks, bring things to anſwer the Scheme, by which he ſeems to have acted in this Affair.

(*e*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 14.

(*f*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 17.

SECT.

Anno 629. SECT. XIII. Nor did the Kingdom, North of the River *Humber*, bound the Zeal of *Edwin*, for, by his Perſwaſions, *Carpuald*, Son of *Redwald*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, become a Chriſtian; and, by his Example, ſome parts of that Kingdom (*a*): Some parts of *Mercia* too taſted of *Edwin*'s Zeal; for, by his Favour and Influence, *Paulinus* was brought to preach the Goſpel to that part of *Lincolnſhire* which borders upon the *Trent* and *Humber* (*b*); and, in the preſence of that Prince *Paulinus* baptized great numbers in the River *Trent*; and, amongſt other, the Præfect of the City of *Lincoln*, whoſe Name was *Blecca*, was converted (*c*); and ſuch numbers in that City brought to the Chriſtian Faith, that a Church was erected therein, for the publick exerciſe of their Religion (*d*), which ſome have conjectured to have ſtood upon, or near the Ground where the Church of St. *Paul*'s now ſtands; and that it had, at firſt, the Name of *Paulinus*, to whom the Erectors of it owed their Converſion; but however that be, 'tis certain that Church was honoured with the Conſecration of *Honorius*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was conſecrated therein by *Paulinus*, Archbiſhop of *York* (*e*), in the Year 631. And though there is not light enough to adjuſt the preciſe time of the 'foreſaid Converſion of the People of *Lincolnſhire*, thus much is evident, that this Converſion was betwixt the Years 627, when *Edwin* declared himſelf a Chriſtian, and the Year 631, when the Conſecration of *Honorius*, in the City of *Lincoln*, affords ſufficient grounds to affirm, that a Chriſtian Church was at that time ſettled therein; and which, next to the Bleſſing of God, ſeems to be chiefly owing to the Zeal of King *Edwin*, whoſe wiſe Conduct hath taught us what great things may be done by Princes that apply themſelves to promote the Intereſts of Religion and Virtue.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 15.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 16.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 18.

Anno 633. SECT. XIV. But God ſees not with the Eyes of Men, nor ſuffers his Providence to be conducted by the meaſures of human Hopes or Wiſhes; for whilſt the glorious Actions of that Prince, led all, that wiſhed well to the Intereſts of Religion, to hope, that God would cover this Prince with his Hand, and with a ſteddy and unreſiſted Succeſs, conduct the Intereſts of the Goſpel, of a ſudden, and for Reaſons his Wiſdom alone can penetrate, God, at once, put an end to the Life, and Glory,

and

and great Undertakings of this Prince in the Year 633, (*a*) and by his Death Paganiſm did again break in upon, and overſpread his Kingdom; for of thoſe who were converted, ſome fell with *Edwin* in Battel, others relapſed; and thoſe who continued ſteddy in their Faith were for the moſt part cut off by the Army of *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Cedwalla*, a King of the *Britons*, who having killed *Edwin* in Battel, and routed his Army, over-run his Kingdom, ſpared neither Sex, nor Age, and ſhewed no more regard to the Chriſtians than the Pagan *Engliſh*. (*b*)

(*a*) Bed. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 20.

(*b*) Ibid.

In ſhort, *Edwin*'s Family, and the Church in his Kingdom, were reduced to ſuch circumſtances, that the Queen, and her Children, and *Paulinus*, were forced to ſave their Lives, by flying away to *Kent* (*c*), where *Paulinus* was made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and in which Station he continued till he died (*d*): And beſides the Sorrows of his Exile, he had the mortification to ſee the Church he had planted ruined, whilſt he was not in a poſſibility to relieve it.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

SECT. XV. The Intereſts of Chriſtianity amongſt the *Eaſt-Angles* had much the ſame Fate; for *Carpuald*, King thereof, who had been converted by King *Edwin*, being killed, that People generally returned to their Idolatry again (*e*). And it is not improbable, that Chriſtianity had the ſame Fate in *Lincolnſhire*; for, tho' *Bede* does not plainly affirm it, yet he ſaith, that the Church built in *Lincoln* was in Ruines long before his Time (*f*): And yet it appears, that *Bede* was born about the Year 677; and that that Church was not built till after the Year 627; ſo that in all probability that decay was occaſioned by the relapſe of the People to Idolatry, and not the effect of Time.

(*e*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 15.

(*f*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 16.

CHAP. IV.

Ab Anno 633 ad Annum 664.

SECT. I. *THE Goſpel preached to the* Northern Engliſh, *by the* Scots *and* Picts: *The occaſion thereof.* Paulinus *never recalled.* Aidan *a Biſhop ſent from* Ireland, *made Biſhop of the Kingdom of* Northumberland. *No regard had to the Model of* Gregory.

II. *The See of* York *removed to* Lindiſfarne. Aidan, *and the Clergy from* Ireland, *imitate the plaineſs of the firſt Chriſtians, and deſpiſe the Rites of the* Romiſh *Church. They ſet up Schools in the* North, *and by their Miniſtry the People, North of* Humber, *are generally converted.*

III. Birinus *preaches the Goſpel to the* Weſt-Saxons. *The occaſion of his coming into* England. *The Biſhoprick of* Dorceſter *founded.*

IV. Norfolk *and* Suffolk *recoverd to the Chriſtian Faith: The occaſion thereof. A Biſhops See planted at* Dummock *by* Sigibert.

V. *The Univerſity of* Cambridge *ſaid to be founded by* Sigibert, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles: *The Grounds thereof.*

VI. *The ill ſucceſs of the Miſſionaries. Idolatry forbid in* Kent *by a Law. The Reaſon of the ill ſucceſs of the Miſſionaries. The ill conſequence of their allowing the* Pagan Engliſh *the uſe of ſome of their ancient Cuſtoms.*

VII. Sigibert, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *baptized by* Finan *a* Scotchman. *The People of* Eſſex and Middleſex *converted by the* Scotch *Clergy. A Biſhop's See again reſtored to* London, *and* Ceadda, *a* Scotchman, *made Biſhop thereof. The People of* London, *relapſed to Idolatry, reclaimed again.*

VIII. *All the Midland parts of* England *converted by the* Northern Engliſh, *and* Scotch *Clergy: The Circumſtances thereof.*

SECT.

SECT. IX. *The mighty Succeſs they had; the Reaſons thereof.* Diuma, *a* Scotchman, *made the firſt Biſhop of* Litchfield.

X. Suſſex *and* Surry *continue in Paganiſm. The Churches of the ſeveral Kingdoms received the Rites of thoſe Churches from whence they had their Converſions. Contentions that hence enſued. The Power the* Saxon *Princes generally exerciſed in Eccleſiaſtick Matters.*

XI. *The Zeal of the* Roman *Miſſionaries to bring the* Engliſh *from the Rites of the* Britiſh *and* Scots, *to thoſe of* Rome: *Diſputes occaſioned hereby.*

XII. *The great Conſequences of this Diſpute to the Miſſionaries, and the Biſhops of* Rome. *Reaſon of the ſtreſs put on this Controverſy. Converſion to the Rites of the* Roman *Church, the only Converſion the greateſt part of* England *owes to the Biſhops of* Rome.

XIII. *The Arts by which the Churches, which had received their Converſion and Rites from the* Scots *and* Britons, *were brought over to thoſe of* Rome.

SECT. I. ON the Death of *Edwin*, King of the *Northumbrians*, *Oſrick*, his Uncle's Son, ſucceeded him in the Province or Kingdom of *Deira* (*a*), and *Eanfride*, the Son of *Ethelfride*, in the Kingdom of *Bernicia* (*b*), both Chriſtians; but they both renounced their Religion, and, after a Reign of one Year, or thereabouts, were both ſlain by *Cedwalla*, King of the *Britons* (*c*). *Oſwald*, Brother to *Eanfride*, ſucceeded him. This Prince was the Son of *Ethelfride*, King of the *Northumbrians* before *Edwin*. But *Edwin* having poſſeſſed himſelf of that Kingdom, the Sons of *Ethelfride*, together with many of the Nobility of that Nation, were forced to fly to *Ireland*, to the *Scots*, and to the Weſterly parts of *Scotland*, then inhabited by the *Picts*, (*d*) where they continued as Exiles, during the Reign of *Edwin*. *Anno* 633.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib* 3. *Cap.* 1.
(*b*) Ibid.
(*c*) Ibid.
(*d*) Ibid. *Chron. Saxon. An.* 617.

But what they ſuffered by their Exile, was abundantly repaid in another manner; for here thoſe Princes and exiled Nobility were brought over to the Chriſtian Faith, and were baptized (*e*); and, by continuing amongſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, during the ſeventeen Years Reign of King

(*e*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 1.

Anno 634. King *Edwin*, they contracted ſuch Friendſhip, as in time coming proved a mighty Bleſſing to the *Engliſh* Nation, by making the *Scots* and *Picts* great Inſtruments in their Converſion, to which King *Oſwald* led the way; for no ſooner was he ſeated upon his Throne, but, inſtead of recalling *Paulinus*, who formerly had been Biſhop of *York*, and then was, and for about ten Years after continued Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, he ſent to the chief of the *Scots*, to deſire they would ſend him a Biſhop, to inſtruct his People in the Chriſtian Faith. (*a*)

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.*

SECT. II. The *Scots* readily anſwered his deſire, and ſent him a Biſhop, whoſe Name is omitted by *Bede*; but the Temper and Addreſs of that Prelate being no way ſuited to the *Saxon* People he returned unſucceſsful; and *Adanus*, a Biſhop of the *Scotiſh* Nation, was ſent in his room. This Prelate was, as *Bede* ſaith, (*b*) a Man of wonderful Humility, great Zeal, Probity, and Goodneſs; at whoſe deſire, the King, without any regard to the appointment of *Gregory*, and other ſucceeding Biſhops of *Rome*, who had appointed the See of that Kingdom at *York*, fixed the Epiſcopal See at *Lindiſſarne*, a little Iſland lying at the Mouth of the River *Lindis*, on the Coaſt of *Northumberland* (*c*), and afterwards known by the Name of the *Holy Iſland*. *Aidan* diſcharged all the Functions of a wiſe and holy Prelate; and inſtead of the Pomp and Shew of the *Roman* Miſſionaries, by conſtant and diligent preaching of God's Word, exemplary Piety and Devotion, accompanied with the primitive Plaineſs and Simplicity, brought over infinite numbers to the Faith of Chriſt; and, by his encouragement, great numbers of the *Iriſh Scotiſh* Clergy, eſpecially of the Monks in Holy Orders, came into that Kingdom (*d*), and the Harveſt was anſwerable to the number of Labourers, and was very great.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 3.

(*c*) Camdeni *Britan. p.* 816.

(*d*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 3.

Nor did they ſtop at the Inſtructions of grown Perſons, but ſet up many Schools for the Inſtruction both of Men and Youth in Learning and Religion (*e*). As for *Oſwald* he did not only perfect the Cathedral in *York*, but built Churches in many parts of his Kingdom (*f*); and, by the happy influence of his Conduct and Example, and the Bleſſing of God on the Labours of the *Scotch* Clergy, the *Engliſh* People, inhabiting North of the River *Humber*, were generally brought over to the Chriſtian

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid.

ſtian Faith, during the Reign of *Oſwald*, which laſted about nine Years.

But whilſt King *Oſwald* thus laid the foundation of a new See at *Lindisfarne*, and *Aidan* has the firſt place in the Succeſſions of the Biſhops of *Durham*, to which place that See was in time removed, the See of *York* lay neglected for above thirty Years after the flight of *Paulinus*; this Prince, and his Succeſſors, taking no notice of the Model of *Gregory*, till Reaſons and Conveniences of State called them to found a Biſhoprick there; and indeed, through the whole ſettlement of the Churches they founded, it is very evident, that that thoſe Holy Men, to whom the greateſt part of *England* owed their Chriſtianity, without any manner of regard to the Biſhops and Church of *Rome*, ſettled the Polity and Diſcipline of the Churches which they founded: And in this their Conduct, the Biſhops and Clergy from the Iſland of *Iona* followed the Pattern of the *Iriſh Scots*, from whence they were originally a Colony.

For it appears, that notwithſtanding the Epiſtle and Exhortation of *Honorius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, (*a*) and after the Death of his next Succeſſor but one, Pope *John*, or rather the Guardians of the Spiritualities, after the Election, but before the confirmation of that Prelate; the *Iriſh Scots* ſtill retained their ancient Rites; and yet the latter of theſe Epiſtles bears date after the Converſion of the *Northern Engliſh*, and about the Year 639. Such reaſon had *Baronius*, (*b*) according to his way of writing, to ſay, that the *Iriſh* Church had long continued in Schiſm, that is, in other words, they knew no Authority the Biſhops or Church of *Rome* had over them; and upon theſe Principles did the Clergy, educated there, act in ſetting up and removing Epiſcopal Sees; and notwithſtanding the Platform of *Gregory*, by which *York* was intended to be erected into an Archiepiſcopal See, and the Biſhops thereof appointed to receive their Conſecration from the Biſhops of *London* (*c*), and the Pall of *Honorius* to advance them to the State of Archbiſhops, the See of *York* was removed to a little Iſland, the Biſhops reduced to the common ſtate of Dioceſan Biſhops, and ſent to the *Scots* to receive their Conſecration.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 19.

(*b*) Baron *Annal. Anno* 604.

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 29.

Anno 634. SECT. III. Whilſt the Intereſts of Chriſtianity were thus carrying on in the North, *Birinus*, a Biſhop from *Rome*, landed in the Weſt of *England*, about the Year 634. This Prelate is ſaid to have been bred a Monk, in the Monaſtery founded by *Gregory* the Great in *Rome*, (a) and by moſt of our Hiſtorians, is ſaid to have been ſent by *Honorius*, Biſhop of *Rome*; yet *Bede* ſaith no more of his coming, but that it was by the Advice of *Honorius* (b): And his Relation to St. *Gregory*, and the Examples of *Fœlix*, a *Burgundian*, who about the ſame time voluntarily came into *Britain*, and preached the Goſpel to the *Eaſt-Angles* (c); and of *Agilbertus*, a *Frenchman*, who came in the like manner into the Country of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and was the immediate Succeſſor to *Birinus*; and the many Inſtances which we have of this kind, in this Century, would tempt one to think, that *Birinus* was not ſent by *Honorius*, as many of our Hiſtorians ſay, but moved by the Piety of his own Inclinations, but with the advice and good liking of *Honorius*, engaged in this Holy Undertaking.

(a) Rudborn, *Angl. Sacr. Par.* I. *p.* 190.

(b) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 7.

(c) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 636.

And his Conduct ſeems anſwerable to this Opinion; for being arriv'd in *Britain*, for ought appears to the contrary, without applying himſelf to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or conſulting the *Roman* Miſſionaries, he began his Labours like one who had no Commiſſion but what he owed to his Zeal, and the integrity of his own Mind, or what lay in common to every Biſhop of the Catholick Church; however, God was pleaſed to give him Succeſs. About a Year after he had begun to preach the Goſpel to this People, *Oſwald*, King of the *Northumbrians*, came into the *Weſt*, to marry the Daughter of of *Kingil*, King of that People. This favourable conjuncture ſo forwarded the Labours of *Birinus*, that by the Bleſſing of God, that Prince was brought over to the Chriſtian Faith and baptiz'd: at which Holy Office, *Oſwald*, his intended Son-in-law, was his Spiritual Father.

Anno 635.

And *Kingil* being at this time but a Tributary to *Oſwald*, thoſe two Princes join'd in the Grant of the City of *Dorcheſter* to *Birinus*, where thoſe Princes founded an Epiſcopal See, and *Birinus* was the firſt Biſhop thereof, and a great Inſtrument of propagating the Goſpel.

SECT.

SECT. IV. About the ſame time that the *Weſt-Saxons* thus received the Faith, the Goſpel was eſtabliſhed amongſt the *Eaſt-Angles*, whoſe Converſion ſeems owing to a remarkable Inſtance of the good Providence of God, by the Intereſt and Perſwaſions of *Edwin*, King of the *Northumbrians*; *Carpuald*, Son of *Redwald*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, was converted about the Year 632 (*a*), but that Prince being murdered about three Years after, (*b*) the Intereſt of the Goſpel, which was not conſiderable at his Death, determined with him, and a general Apoſtacy enſued. (*c*) *Anno* 636.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 632. *pag.* 29.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 15.

(*b*) Ibid.

Sigibert was Brother to *Carpuald*, and ſucceeded in his Kingdom, who, as it ſeems by a Faction in the Court, during his Brother's Reign, had been forced into *France*, where he had lived for ſome time in Exile; but it pleaſed God, who, when he ſees fit, can bring Good out of Evil, that this Prince was, during this Exile, converted to the Chriſtian Faith (*d*), and filled with a Zeal becoming the Holy Religion he profeſſed; and no ſooner was he advanced to the Crown, but the firſt ſubject of his Care was that which beſt deſerved it, the Religion of Chriſt.

(*d*) Ibid.

Whilſt theſe Thoughts poſſeſſed this Prince, *Fælix*, a *Burgundian* Biſhop, moved by a Zeal from above, came into *England*, (*e*) to offer himſelf an Inſtrument in converting the *Saxons*; and applying himſelf to *Honorius*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he was, by him, ſent to *Sigibert*, (*f*) and by his Favour and Aſſiſtance, became a great Inſtrument of God's Glory in the converting of the *Eaſt-Angles* (*g*). And that all the Steps of this Affair might be ſurpriſing, no ſooner was this Holy Work begun, but *Furſeus*, a Prieſt and Monk, from *Ireland*, came voluntarily into that Kingdom (*h*) not to hide and render himſelf uſeleſs, but to do God Service in the propagation of the Goſpel. *Sigibert* received him as the Piety of the Man and his Errand deſerved, and by his Example and Aſſiſtance, and the Bleſſing of God on the Labours of theſe Holy Strangers, *Fælix* and *Furſeus*, the Chriſtian Religion was received and ſetled in the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 19.

The Chriſtian Religion being thus planted, *Sigibert* ſettled the Epiſcopal See, ſince removed to *Norwich*, at *Dummock* (*i*), probably the ſame place that is now known by the Name of *Dunwich* in the County of *Suffolk*, and

(*i*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 15.

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Fælix had the Honour to have the firſt place in the Succeſſions of the Biſhops of that See, which he held for ſeventeen Years, and has left not only his Name, but the Example of a Zeal and Piety that merit the reverence and imitation of all his Succeſſors. Our Hiſtorians do for the moſt part agree to this Account of *Bede*, but with this difference, that *Malmsbury*, and from him *Ranulphus* ſay, that *Fælix* was well known to *Sigibert* in *France*, and by him brought over to *England*, (*a*) which robs *Honorius*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of the part *Bede* gives him in this Affair.

(*a*) Ranulph. XV. *Scriptor.* *pag.* 232.

SECT. V. But if we may rely on our later Hiſtorians, eſpecially on thoſe who have wrote the Antiquities of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; Poſterity is on another Account, exceedingly indebted to the Wiſdom and Munificence of *Sigibert*, who, as they tell us, was the Founder of that very eminent Nurſery of Learning and Religion. Thus much is certain, that that Prince not only ſettled the Chriſtian Religion in his Dominions, of which *Cambridgeſhire* was a part, but, according to the Pattern he had ſeen in *France*, he founded Schools for the Inſtruction of Youth within his Dominions (*b*); and, according to the uſage of the Schools which had before been erected in *Kent*, by *Auſtin* and his Followers, he appointed Maſters to attend their Inſtruction.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 18.

And indeed Religion and good Learning have ever been thought ſo nearly allied, and ſo mutually uſeful to each other, that Religion is no where elſe ſo bright and ſhining, as in Minds that are enlightened by Knowledge, and freed from the Miſts and Clouds of Ignorance and Vice; and therefore that of *Sigibert* was the general practiſe of all thoſe Holy Men, to whom theſe Nations are indebted for the Bleſſings of the Goſpel.

Auſtin begun this practiſe in *Kent*. The *Scots* from *Ireland*, and thoſe from the Iſle of *Iona* took the ſame courſe, and at once ſettled Chriſtianity, and Schools of Learning in all thoſe parts of *Britain* which they had the honour to convert (*c*). *Theodore*, and all the later Colonies from *Rome* followed the ſame ſteps; (*d*) and it is not unlikely but St. *German* and St. *Lupus* might take the like meaſures in providing againſt the *Pelagian* Hereſy. And about the latter end of this and the beginning of the next Century, the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry foun-

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 3.

(*d*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 2.

founded many Collegiate Societies, (*a*) conſiſting of ſecular Perſons mentioned in our Councils (*b*) and Hiſtorians, by the Name of Secular Monaſteries; and, 'tis probable, that our now flouriſhing Univerſities might have their beginning in ſome of the 'foreſaid Foundations; yet we are ſo much in the dark as to the true original of thoſe Bodies, and the Steps by which they roſe are ſo unobſerved by Antiquity, that there is but too much reaſon to doubt, whether there be ſufficient ground to ſupport the Opinions of thoſe Learned Men, who pretend to ſay, that the Univerſity of *Oxford* was founded or reſtored by St. *German*, and that of *Cambridge* by *Sigibert*.

(*a*) Bedæ *Epiſt. ad Egbrotum*, p. 259.
(*b*) *Concil. Britan. Vol.* I. *pag.* 239.

It is enough to all Men who are not fond of Uncertainties, that it is paſt all doubt, thoſe Bodies are very ancient, and deſervedly make ſo great a Figure in the Learned World, that they can never want Veneration and Encouragement, till the World wants a juſt eſteem for Religion and Learning, and becomes fond of Vice and Ignorance; yet, without leſſening the veneration, which all the ties of Inclination and Duty oblige me to pay to thoſe venerable Bodies, I hope one may be permitted to ſay, that the Schools erected in *Kent*, by the Miſſionaries from *Rome*, were intended for the teaching of *Greek* and *Latin*, and *Muſick*; (*c*) and it is certain, that *Fælix* could bring no Pattern from *France* for any other Schools of Learning.

(*c*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 2.

For it is evident, there was no Univerſity in *France*, till, by the aſſiſtance of *Alcuinus*, that of *Paris* was erected by *Charles* the Great. This was near one hundred and fifty Years after the erection of Schools by *Sigibert*; and thoſe Opinions which aſcribe the erecting an Univerſity in *Oxford* to the *Britons*, or St. *German*, are accompanied with Difficulties ſo equal to thoſe which clog the Story of *Sigibert*, that thoſe ancient and venerable Bodies ſeem rather to loſe than gain any thing by the Zeal which gave beginning to thoſe Opinions. But to return.

SECT. VI. Whilſt the Goſpel was ſpreading it ſelf in other parts of *England*, and the Miſſionaries in *Kent* made ſome little but unſucceſsful efforts towards bringing the *Britons* and *Scots* to the Rites and Uſages of the *Romiſh* Church, except what is related of *Birinus*, *Bede* makes no mention of any thing done by the Miſſionaries, *Anno* 640.

towards enlarging the Bounds of *Chriſt-Church*, from the flight of *Paulinus* from the North, in the Year 633, till the Year 640; and then gives us ſo ſurpriſing an Inſtance of the Wiſdom and Zeal of *Ercombert*, King of *Kent*, as at once reflects Honour and Eſteem upon that Prince, and reproaches the want of Integrity, or Zeal, in thoſe who had the planting and conduct of Religion in that Kingdom; this Year, ſaith *Bede*, Ercombert, *King of* Kent, *by an Edict, required all his Subjects to relinquiſh the Worſhip of Idols; and that all the Idols ſhould be deſtroyed through his whole Kingdom* (*a*), and appointed Puniſhment for all that ſhould offend in the violation of that Law (*b*).

Anno 640.

(*a*) *Chron. Sax. An.* 641. Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 7.

(*b*) Ibid.

The ſofteſt reflection this Affair is capable of, is, that that Kingdom was not yet entirely converted, and yet this was above forty Years after the coming of *Auſtin*: But if one compare the Directions given by *Gregory* to *Auſtin* (*c*), and to *Serenus* Biſhop of *Marſelles* (*d*), not to aboliſh the Rites and Uſages of the Pagans, but to direct them to the Honour of God, and to permit them, if they deſired it, to ſet up Images in the places of publick Worſhip, with what *Bede* ſaith (*e*) of *Redwald*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, who was converted and baptized by the Miſſionaries in *Kent*, viz. (*f*) that that Prince being returned to his Kingdom, tranſcribed the Example of the *Samaritans*; and as they took the *Jewiſh* Worſhip into their own, thus, ſaith *Bede*, (*g*) did that Prince, *in the ſame Church, offer Sacrifice to Chriſt and Devils*, one finds too much ground to ſuſpect, that the firſt Miſſionaries from *Rome* were exceedingly to blame for the Notions of God, and the Rites and Forms of Worſhip they taught, or at leaſt permitted to their Converts.

(*c*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 9. *Epiſt.* 71.

(*d*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 9 *Epiſt.* 11.

(*e*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 15.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

Whether it were for theſe Reaſons that God thought fit to deny them the Succeſſes that might have been hoped for, and the firſt ſucceſs ſeemed to promiſe? or whether it was that their Numbers or Zeal were diminiſhed? or for other Reaſons beſt known to God, he only knows? But thus much is certain, their Labours had not the wiſhed for Succeſs; but whilſt the Intereſts of Religion ſtood in need of the Civil Authority, and compulſion of a Penal Law in the Kingdom of *Kent*, that ſpecial Providence which ever watches over the Intereſts of Truth, was, in other parts of the Iſland, preparing

paring the way for voluntary ſubmiſſion to the Faith of Chriſt.

For not long after the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Saxons* was recovered to the Church, and that of *Mercia*, brought into it.

SECT. VII. Some part of the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, containing the Counties of *Middleſex* and *Eſſex*, had received the Chriſtian Faith upon the preaching of *Mellitus*, about the Year 604; but about the Year 613, *Seber* the King thereof dying, *Mellitus* was driven from his See in *London*, and that Kingdom returned to Paganiſm again (*a*); and though it cannot be doubted, but that *Mellitus*, who afterwards was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Succeſſors, were not wanting in their endeavours to recover that People from their Apoſtacy, yet their endeavours were unſucceſsful, and Idolatry continued in full poſſeſſion of that Kingdom for about forty Years after their Relapſe, and the expulſion of *Mellitus*; but then it pleaſed God to grant the Succeſs to the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Clergy, which he denied to thoſe from *Rome*. The manner and circumſtances whereof *Bede* thus relates. (*b*)

Anno 654.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 5.

Anno 654.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 22.

There was, ſaith he, a mighty Friendſhip betwixt *Oſwy*, King of the *Northumbrians*, and *Sigibert* the Third, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, which occaſioned a conſtant Correſpondence, and frequent Interviews betwixt thoſe Princes; *Oſwy* endeavoured to purſue the nobleſt and trueſt ends of Friendſhip, and made uſe of it to ſerve the purpoſes of Vertue and Religion; and therefore in converſation, frequently applied himſelf to ſhew *Sigibert* the folly of adoring Beings, not to be compared with that of Mankind (*c*), and to raiſe his Mind to a ſenſe of that Being who was the Creator of the World; (*d*) and ſucceeded ſo well, that *Sigibert* yielded to the force of his Reaſonings, and declared himſelf a Chriſtian, and was baptized by *Finanus*, Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, (*e*). And the ſame Reaſons which occaſioned the Converſion of this Prince, made him very ſollicitous for the Converſion of his People: And in order thereunto, he deſired of *Oſwy*, the aſſiſtance of ſome of his Clergy; and *Chad*, who was an *Engliſhman* by Birth, and at this time imployed in the Converſion of the Midland *Engliſh*, having by his Zeal and Conduct in that Imployment, given

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

given abundant evidence of his Capacity for a Work of that kind, was called home from the Kingdom of *Mercia*; and, together with another Prieſt, ſent by King *Oſwy*, to attend upon *Sigibert* to the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Saxons:* Being arrived there, *Chad* and his Fellow-Labourer went from place to place through the Dominions of *Sigibert*; and with exemplary Zeal and Holineſs preached the Goſpel to the People of *Middleſex* and *Eſſex*, and their Labours were bleſſed by Almighty God with a general converſion of that People.

And having formed a Church, *Cedda* or *Chad* returned to the North, where he was conſecrated Biſhop by *Finanus*; and from thence going back to his Charge he eſtabliſhed his Epiſcopal See in *London* (*a*); where, after a long interval of forty Years betwixt him and *Mellitus*, he has left his Name amongſt the Biſhops of that See, and a moſt worthy Pattern to Succeſſion. And when, after the Death of this worthy Prelate, a part of this People relapſed to their Idolatry again, they were a ſecond time reclaimed by the Labours of *Jarumannus*, Biſhop of the *Mercians*, (*b*) who had been educated in the Diſcipline, and received his Conſecration from the *Scotiſh* Churches.

(*a*) Ibid.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 30.

Anno 655. SECT. VIII. The Midland parts of *England*, ſince diſtinguiſhed into the Counties of *Glouceſter*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Warwick*, *Leiceſter*, *Rutland*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln*, *Bedford*, *Oxford*, *Nottingham*, *Buckingham*, *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and part of *Hartford*, are uſually ſaid to be comprehended in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and poſſibly were ſo in time; but it is paſt diſpute, that that Kingdom was at this time very great and powerful, but had hitherto continued in its Idolatry; and, for ought appears to the contrary, without any attempt of the Miſſionaries to reclaim them; or if any endeavours were uſed for their Converſion, the want of Succeſs has buried them in ſilence.

But about this time a way was opened to their Converſion; for *Penda* being King of the *Mercians*, and having a Son of the ſame Name, a Propoſal was made for a Marriage betwixt *Penda*'s Son, and *Alchfled* Daughter of *Oſwy*, King of the *Northumbrians* (*c*); *Oſwy* was a Chriſtian, and his Daughter bred up in that Religion; and therefore that Prince refuſed the Match, unleſs *Penda* re-

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib* 3. *Cap.* 21.

renounced his Paganiſm (*a*). After ſome time, and due Inſtructions, *Penda* was ſo fully convinced of the Truth and Reaſonableneſs of the Chriſtian Faith, that he made open profeſſion thereof; and, together with the Nobility which attended him to the North, he was baptized by *Finanus*, Biſhop of *Lindisfarne* (*b*). *Penda* being thus converted, at his return to his Country he carried back with him four Prieſts, who laboured with great Succeſs, not only in that part of this great Country, which was committed to the Government of this Prince, during the Life of his Father, the Inhabitants whereof *Bede* ſtiles the *Mid-Angles*, (*c*) but in all the other parts of *Mercia*.

(*a*) Ibid.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

The chief of the four Prieſts, to whoſe Labours the converſion of this Kingdom was chiefly owing, was *Cedda*, or *Chad* (*d*), whom I have already mentioned in relating the Converſion of the *Eaſt-Saxons*; for *Cedda* was here employed when *Oſwy* recalled him from this Service (*e*), and ſent him to preach to the *Eaſt-Saxons*; and therefore the order of time ſeems to challenge precedency to this Relation, before the account of the *Eaſt-Saxons*. But though a progreſs was made in the Converſion of the Midland parts of *England*, before the Goſpel was preached to the *Eaſt-Saxons*, yet ſince this Work was not perfected, till ſome time after the Converſion of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, I chooſe to lay the whole together, though ſome part not in the juſt order of time, rather than perplex the Story, in following the Steps of *Bede*, who ſeems not ſo clear in his Account of this particular, as is uſual with that excellent Writer.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 22.

SECT. IX. But upon the whole Matter, it ſeems evident, that the People inhabiting all the new Midland-Counties of *England*, during the Reigns of the two *Penda*'s, the Father and the Son, and the ſhort time that *Oſwy* (who ſlew *Penda* in Battel) poſſeſſed that Kingdom, were generally converted; and by the Clergy ſent from the North, which *Bede* ſaith were *Cedda*, *Adda*, *Betti*, and *Diuma* (*f*); of which, the three former were *Engliſh*, and the laſt, *Diuma*, a *Scotchman*, if the Authority of *Bede* may be relied on in this particular; whereas *Eddius*, the Writer of *Wilfrid*'s Life, and who lived at this time, ſaith of his Brother *Chad*, that he was a *Scot*, (*g*) and came from *Ireland*, the then Country of the *Scots*: But

Anno 655.

(*f*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 21.

(*g*) *Vita* Wilfrid *c.* 14. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 58.

whatever his Country was, 'tis certain, that his Fellow-Labourers in this Holy Work, had for ſome time lived, if not been educated under *Aidan* and *Finan*, Biſhops of the *Northern Engliſh*, and therefore acquainted with the Language and Manners of the People to whom they were ſent.

And the Succeſs was anſwerable, and indeed the Advantages thereof are ſo viſible, that one cannot but wonder, that amongſt the many Miracles ſaid to be wrought in favour of the Miſſionaries from *Rome*, we do not hear that God ever gave to any of them a miraculous knowledge of the *Saxon* Language: Nor has he, that we ever hear of, been more bountiful in that kind to the modern Miſſionaries, though the knowledge of Tongues was the firſt general Favour that God vouchſafed to all thoſe he firſt employed in preaching of the Goſpel; and if the want hereof was not one of the reaſons of the little ſucceſs of *Auſtin* and his Followers; yet there is no doubt to be made, that the knowledge of the Language was of great uſe to thoſe who were employed in the Converſion we are now ſpeaking of.

Whilſt this Work was thus ſucceſsfully going on, *Cedda* or *Chad*, who was the chief Perſon engag'd therein, was called away by the King of *Northumberland*; and at the deſire of the King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* imployed in the converſion of his People; and after ſome time ſpent in that Service was made Biſhop of *London*. Upon his receſs *Diuma* was made Biſhop of the new Converts, and conſecrated by *Finanus* (*a*), under the Title of Biſhop of the *Mid-Engliſh* and *Mercians* (*b*). The judicious and learned Mr. *Wharton* (*c*) has well obſerved, that there are ſome things in this Story very perplexed and intricate, occaſioned, as he juſtly obſerves, by the quick Revolutions which happened in this Kingdom; for *Penda* was killed in Battel by *Oſwy*, King of the *Northumbrians*, in the Year 655; and the Year following *Penda*, or *Peada* his Son was murdered, and (as it was thought) by the treachery of his Wife; and *Oſwy* poſſeſſed himſelf of that Kingdom in the Year 656, which he continued till the Year 658, when the People caſt off his Yoke, and ſet up *Wulfere*, a younger Son of *Penda*. (*d*)

(*a*) Ibid.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 24.

(*c*) *Angliæ Sac. Pars* I. *pag.* 423.

(*d*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 24.

Theſe haſty changes have occaſioned ſome difficulties in fixing the exact time of the Converſion of this People,

and

and the first settlement of the Episcopal See in that Kingdom; but what is plain, and allowed on all hands, is enough to the present purpose, *viz.* that *Penda*, or *Peada*, the Son of the King of the *Mercians*, was baptized about the Year 653, by *Finanus* Bishop of *Lindisfarne*; and at his return to his Country, the Gospel was first preached to the Midland Counties of *England*, by the Persons already mentioned; and, by the Blessing of God on their Labours, was within a few Years after generally received; and in particular by *Wulfere*, King of the *Mercians*, and under his Reign settled amongst that People. *Diuma* was the first Bishop of that Kingdom (*a*); and the Seat of the Bishoprick being afterwards fixed at *Lichfield*, his Name has the first place in the Successions of the Bishops of that See; and his Memory has the Honour and Veneration, amongst all good Men, which his Piety and Labours deserv'd. *Anno* 658.

(*a*) Ibid.

And Posterity was not ungrateful to the Memory of St. *Chad*, his Fellow-Labourer in that holy Undertaking; for though he was called away from that Service, to preach to the People of *Essex* and *Middlesex*; and for the Services he there did was advanced to the See of *London*, yet the Cathedral of *Lichfield* bears his Name to this Day, and, as I think, in Memory of this Prelate, who was a great Instrument in the Conversion of the *Mercians*; and to distinguish him from a later *Chad*, who was made Bishop of *Lichfield* about the Year 670, is known by the Name of *Chad* the Elder.

SECT. X. Whilst the Gospel was thus planted in all the other Kingdoms, the *South-Saxons* inhabiting the Counties of *Sussex* and *Surry* remained in their Idolatry, till God, who brings Good out of Evil, did, some Years after, serve himself on the unhappy Divisions in the *English* Church, and, by the expulsion of *Wilfrid* from the See of *York*, opened a way to their Conversion: In the mean time, it will be requisite to look a little backward, and view the Steps which lead us to the Controversy, to which *Wilfrid* owed both his Reputation and his Sufferings; and which, by the good Providence of God, occasioned the Conversion of this People. *Anno* 660.

The Gospel having been planted by Men bred in different Communions, the several parts of *England* received the Rites and Usages of the Churches from whence they

they received their Faith; the Kingdom of *Kent* owing its Converſion to thoſe who were ſent from *Rome*, received the Uſages of that Church: This was the caſe of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who had received their Chriſtianity from *Birinus*, or his Succeſſor *Agilbertus*, the former a Biſhop from *Rome*, the latter from *France*; and in ſome meaſure of the *Eaſt-Angles*, who had been generally converted by *Fælix* a *Burgundian*, and *Furſeus* a Monk from *Scotland*: But all the other parts of *England*, under the Dominion of the *Saxons*, containing, in a manner, the whole Tract of Ground from the Friths of *Edenburgh*, on the *North*, to the *Thames* on the *South*, as they were generally brought to the Chriſtian Faith by the Labours of the *Scotiſh* or *Iriſh* Clergy, or ſuch *Engliſh* as had had their Education under them; ſo they as generally followed the Uſages of the *Scotiſh* and *Britiſh* Churches.

And this difference in Rites and Uſages was the ground of thoſe Factions and mutual Heats, which, for a time, occaſioned a great deal of Wrangling and Contention, and ended in a general change of the Oeconomy and Polity firſt eſtabliſhed in the *Saxon* Churches in the firſt Converſions of that People, each Prince made ſuch Eſtabliſhment as beſt ſuited the convenience of his own Dominions; and, excepting the Kingdom of *Kent*, no one Kingdom had, in the firſt Eſtabliſhment, more than one Epiſcopal See, the Biſhop whereof was independant, owning no Metropolitan; and with the advice of their Clergy and People, the Princes founded or removed Epiſcopal Sees, or divided Biſhopricks, as they were led by the Intereſts of Religion, and the good of their Churches and People.

Nor was this the caſe of thoſe Kingdoms only which were converted by the *Iriſh Scotiſh* Chriſtians, but of thoſe Kingdoms which had been converted by the Miſſionaries from *Rome*; or by ſuch Perſons as agreed in the Rites and Uſages of that Church, and in particular of the *Weſt-Saxons*, though firſt converted by *Birinus*; for by the Royal Authority the Epiſcopal See was firſt ſettled at *Dorcheſter* (*a*): And on the Death of *Birinus*, Biſhop thereof, the King took *Agilbert*, a *Frenchman*, and placed him in his room (*b*); and when he thought fit, that Prince divided his Kingdom into two Biſhopricks (*c*), and founded a new Epiſcopal See at *Wincheſter* (*d*), and con-

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 7.
(*b*) Ibid.
(*c*) Ibid.
(*d*) Ibid.

conſtituted *Wini* the Biſhop thereof (*a*). And to ſhew he knew of no Metropolitan to whom it belonged to conſecrate the Biſhops of his Kingdom, he ſent *Wini* into *France* to be conſecrated (*b*): And indeed our Hiſtorians generally agree, that *Theodore* was the firſt Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* that was ever generally owned as Metropolitan by the *Saxons* (*c*).

(*a*) Ibid.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib* 4. *Cap.* 2.

And the circumſtances of that Affair (which ſhall be conſidered in the proper place) ſhew plainly, that the acknowledgment of his Authority was a voluntary act, founded on an Agreement of the *Engliſh* Princes amongſt themſelves, and not upon any Opinion of a Power in the Biſhop of *Rome*, to conſtitute a Metropolitan without their conſent. But to judge truly of this Matter, it will be requiſite to conſider the ſubject, and motions of that Controverſie, which about this time broke the Peace of the Churches of *England*.

SECT. XI. At the conference betwixt the *Britiſh* Biſhops, and *Auſtin*, that Prelate promiſed the *Britons*, that in caſe they would obey him, in obſerving the *Eaſter*-Feſtival, according to the manner of the Church of *Rome*, and in the uſe of the ſame Rites in adminiſtring Baptiſm, and join in the Converſion of the *Engliſh*, he would bear with them in all other things (*d*): But he told them, at the ſame time, that they did many things contrary to the unity of the Church (*e*); but it is not ſaid what thoſe things were, which they did contrary to the Unity of the Church, and wherein he was to bear with them. *Anno* 664.

(*d*) Bed. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

(*e*) Ibid.

And in the ſame uncertain manner does our Hiſtorian ſpeak of the famous diſpute in the Synod held this Year in the Monaſtery of *Streaneſhalk*, now *Whitby* in *Yorkſhire*; he ſaith, that ſeveral Eccleſiaſtick Affairs were the ſubject of debate, but mentions no other but the *Eaſter*-Feſtival, and the Eccleſiaſtick Tonſure, only in general other Eccleſiaſtick Matters (*f*).

(*f*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 25.

But it appears, that both the *Britons* and *Iriſh Scots* had their Liturgies diſtinct from that of *Rome*: The *Britons* generally uſing the Liturgy of St. *Martin*, which was called the *Gallorum Curſus* (g): The *Scots* of *Ireland* had another Liturgy, called the *Curſus Scotorum* (*h*); and there is no doubt to be made, but *Columban*, by whom the Northern *Picts* were firſt converted, and who

(g) Uſher's *Relig. of Anti.* Iriſh, *cap.* 4. *pag.* 34.

(*h*) *Ejuſdem pag.* 31.

founded the Monaſtery in the Iſland of *Hy*, now called *Iona*, eſtabliſhed the Liturgy of *Ireland* from whence he came.

Now the Northern and Midland Parts of *England* having received the Chriſtian Faith from the *Iriſh Scots*, or ſuch of the *Albion Scots* and *Engliſh* as had had their Education in *Ireland*, or in the 'foreſaid Monaſtery of *Iona*, or in ſuch of the *Engliſh* Monaſteries as had been erected by the Biſhops who had been educated therein, there is no reaſon to doubt, but they did univerſally receive the Liturgy in uſe amongſt the *Iriſh Scots*; and it is very probable, that this enlarged the ſubject of diſpute betwixt the Miſſionaries and the Biſhops and Clergy of the Northern *Engliſh*; and was one of the chief of the Eccleſiaſtick Matters remembred by *Bede*.

Beſides all this, it ſeems very evident, that the *Engliſh*, who had received their Faith from other hands, had been ſo far from owning the Authority of the Clergy from *Rome*, that they had hitherto had no Communion with them; and therefore it is no wonder, we ſee this Controverſy revived again at this time; for the *Engliſh* being now generally converted, the Miſſionaries had no more to do but to bring them over to the Uſages of the *Roman* Church; for thus they would at once mortifie the *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* Clergy, who had laboured in their Converſion, and poſſeſs themſelves of the Truſt and Honour they had deſerved.

This deſign ſeems to have been laid ſome Years before, but, as *Bede* obſerves, whilſt *Aidan* and *Finan*, Biſhops of the Northern *Engliſh*, lived, their Merit and Intereſts were ſuch that they bore down all attempts of this kind (*a*); but they being dead, and *Colman* in their Chair, a Man of leſs Merit, though, as he obſerves, a very pious and holy Prelate, it was now a fit time to ſet about it; and accordingly, as he obſerves, upon the Death of *Finan*, this Controverſie grew much hotter than it was before (*b*). The Parties who were chiefly concerned in this Controverſie, were, as *Bede* (*c*) well obſerves, the Church of *Kent*, and ſuch Chriſtians as had been bred in *France*, on the one ſide; and the *Scotiſh* Clergy, and ſuch of the *Engliſh* as had been converted by them, on the other ſide.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 25.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

SECT.

SECT. XII. And indeed the Church of *Kent*, and the Authority of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* had a great concern in this Affair; for though in the firſt view it appears little and trifling, yet the conſequence was of the firſt moment to the Miſſionaries, and the Authority of the See that ſent them; for whilſt things remained in the preſent ſtate, it was manifeſt that the *Engliſh* Churches of the *Scotiſh* Eſtabliſhment, as well as the *Britiſh* Churches, would be ſo far from ſubmitting to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as their Metropolitan; and conſequently, from owning the Authority of the Biſhops of *Rome*, from whom they received that Character, that they would not ſo much as join in Communion with the Churches that had been planted from *Rome*. *Anno* 664.

But, on the contrary, if they could be brought to ſubmit to the Uſages, and join in the external Communion of the Church, founded by *Auſtin*, they muſt neceſſarily own the Authority by which thoſe Uſages were eſtabliſhed. In ſhort, there could be no external Communion betwixt the Churches of the *Scotiſh* and *Roman* Eſtabliſhments, without a Submiſſion on the one ſide, or mutual Recognitions of a due eſtabliſhment on the ſide of both Parties; for joining in conſtant Communion with a Church, does, in the very nature of it, include and imply an acknowledgment and belief, that the Church we ſo join with is duly eſtabliſhed; and ſuch an acknowledgment is ſtill more publick and authentick when one Church changes its ancient Rites and Uſages to capacitate it for Communion with another; conſequently, the *Britiſh* and *Scotiſh* Churches, and ſuch of the *Engliſh* as were eſtabliſhed on the ſame foot, could not poſſibly make a more publick and certain acknowledgment of the Authority of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the Church eſtabliſhed in theſe Kingdoms, by the Miſſionaries from *Rome*, than by ſubmitting to terms of Communion, and uniting into one Church with them.

For whatever the terms were, ſuch a ſubmiſſion did, in the very nature of it, include an acknowledgment of the Authority of thoſe to whom they ſubmitted; and conſequently, this Union was at leaſt a virtual, if not an explicit owning of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* as their Metropolitan; and therefore it is very well obſerved by one of the beſt Judges in Affairs of this kind, (*a*) that when

(*a*) *Origin. Brit. cap.* 5. *pag.* 359.

when the *Britiſh* Biſhops were preſſed by *Auſtin* to obey him, in obſerving the *Eaſter*-Feſtival, and the Rites of Baptiſm, they anſwered appoſitely not only to the firſt and literal ſenſe, but to the conſequence of his Demand, that they would neither comply with him in the 'foreſaid Rites, nor own him for their Archbiſhop. And therefore the pretences of Mr. *Creſſy* and *Alford*, that *Auſtin* did not require the *Britons* to ſubmit to his Authority, as the 'foreſaid Learned Prelate well obſerves, if true, would no way excuſe him, for that ſubmiſſion was neceſſarily included in what he expreſly required. (*a*)

(*a*) *Origin. Britan. cap.* 5. *pag.* 358,

This Reflection ſhews us at once the true ground of this Controverſy, the Springs by which it was moved, and the reaſon of the Zeal and Paſſion with which it was conducted; and why the Hiſtorians, who favoured the Authority of the Biſhops of *Rome* ſpeak ſo ſenſibly of the Converſions to the Catholick *Eaſter*, as they term it, and the Eccleſiaſtical Tonſure; for theſe were the Converſions, the *Saxon*, *Britiſh*, and *Scotiſh* Churches, intirely owed to the Zeal and Conduct of the Miſſionaries from *Rome*.

And how little ſoever they appear at the firſt view, the great Conſequences they drew after them, will ſhew the Miſſionaries had reaſon to value themſelves for theſe Converſions, and that our Hiſtorians judged rightly of the importance thereof, But for theſe Reaſons, the ground of this change, or how it came to paſs that the *Engliſh*, who had hitherto oppoſed the Miſſionaries, were prevailed upon to join in Communion with them, will deſerve our particular enquiry?

Anno 664.

SECT. XIII. The account that *Bede* gives us of the Miracles of *Aidan* and *Finan*, and *Colman*, who headed the Party which oppoſed the Miſſionaries, and the Uſages they had brought from *Rome*, do ſo fully ballance thoſe on the other ſide, that we muſt be content to lay aſide all conſiderations of that kind, and ſeek our account of the change in the Rites and Government of the *Saxon* Churches, from Reaſons of a different nature.

Certain it is, that hitherto there had been great Heats and Animoſities betwixt the *Saxons* of the *Scotiſh* Converſions, and thoſe who had been converted by the Clergy from *Rome* and *France*: And it is as evident, that this Year a way was opened to a Reconciliation: And be-

becauſe this change had its beginning amongſt the Northern *Engliſh*, whoſe Country had hitherto been both the ſupport and nurſery of thoſe who oppoſed the pretenſions of the *Roman* Miſſionaries, we are to look to the ſtate of that Kingdom for our light into this Affair.

Oſwy, King of the *Northumbrians*, was, at this time, the greateſt of the *Saxon* Kings, and all the reſt Tributaries to him; and he had married a Princeſs, who had been trained up according to the Uſage of the Church of *Kent* (*a*), and had a Chappel ſettled, and continued the publick exerciſe of her Religion, according to the Rites and Uſages of that Church; and was, for that end, attended by a Chaplain named *Romanus*, a *Scotchman* by Birth, but a very fierce and zealous aſſerter of the Catholick *Eaſter* (*b*).

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 25.

(*b*) Ibid.

And *Wilfrid*, afterwards Biſhop of *York*, though an *Engliſhman* born, and who had his firſt Education amongſt the *Northern Engliſh*, yet having ſpent ſome time in the Kingdom of *Kent* (*c*), and more in *France* and *Italy*; he was ſome Years before this Diſpute returned home, a warm aſſerter of the Catholick *Eaſter*, and Eccleſiaſtick Tonſure (*d*); and which is more, by the Intereſt and Perſwaſions of *Cenelwalch*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, King *Alcfrid*, who was at this time a Partner in the Throne of his Father, had ſome time before been brought over to the ſame Sentiments (*e*); and being confirmed therein by *Wilfrid*, ſeems to have been no leſs zealous to promote the Deſigns and Intereſts of the Miſſionaries, than the Miſſionaries themſelves.

(*c*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. XV *Scriptor. pag.* 45, 46.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

The Seeds of Diſcord being thus prepared, an opportunity to mature them ſoon offered it ſelf; for the ſeveral Parties following different Cycles in finding of *Eaſter*, as *Bede* obſerves, it ſometimes happen'd, that whilſt the King was celebrating the *Eaſter* Feſtival, the Queen was ingaged in the auſterities of the *Lent* Faſt (*f*); and as this publiſhed the difference in the ſeveral Communions, and made confuſion in the Courts, ſo under the favour and countenance of the young King and Queen, this difference in the Uſages of the Church grew up into a Faction of State; and prevailed ſo far on King *Oſwy*, that if one judges by the event, one has much ado to forbear thinking, that the Aſſembly he

(*f*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 25.

called to consider of this Matter, like the modern Conferences, was rather to cover, and give reputation to his Resolutions, than to determine them.

CHAP. V.

Ab Anno 664 ad Annum 673.

SECT. I. A *Synod on the occasion of the Controversy about* Easter, &c. *Arguments on both sides.*

II. *The Observances of* Easter *by the first Ages, the rise and ancient state of the Controversy about it: The Conduct and Issue thereof.*

III. *A second branch of Controversy, Ecclesiastick Tonsure. Some Reflections thereon. Conclusion of this Synod in favour of the Missionaries.* Colman *quits his Bishoprick.* Wilfrid *chose of the* Northern English; *goes to* France *to be Consecrated, contrary to the appointment of* Gregory.

IV. *During the absence of* Wilfrid, *the Court of the King of* Northumberland *is brought by the* Quarto Decimans, *to appoint* Tuda *to be Bishop in* Wilfrid's *room: He not permitted to return the Charge against him.*

V. *Kings of* Northumberland *and* Kent *agree to unite the Churches of the* Scotish *and* Romish *Establishment: The reasons thereof. By consent they chose* Wighart *to be Archbishop of* Canterbury. *Send him to* Rome *for Consecration.* Wighart *dies at* Rome. *This gives occasion to the Bishop of* Rome *to choose, and send* Theodore *in his stead.*

VI. Theodore *consecrated. His Character. Reason of Union of the* English *Churches.* Theodore *the first Metropolitan thereof. The reception of his Authority owing to the Consent of the* English *Princes, not to the Power of the Bishop of* Rome. *Conduct of* Theodore.

VII. Wilfrid *restored to his Bishoprick by* Theodore. Ceadda *removed from* York *to* Lichfield. Theodore *erects Schools for* Greek, Latin, *and* Musick.

SECT.

SECT. VIII. *A Synod held at* Hertford. Theodore *acts as Metropolitan. Biſhops, who appeared. Canons of the Council.*

IX. *Some Reflections on this Council. The ſtate of the Lower Clergy.*

X. *The preſent ſtate of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. *The Original of the Metropolitical Powers in* England. *Not owing to the Authority of the Biſhops of* Rome.

SECT. I. THE way being thus prepared for the change which not long after enſued, *Oſwy*, King of *Northumberland*, appointed a Time and Place for a Conference betwixt the contending Parties: The Place fixed upon was the Monaſtery of *Strenaeſhalch*, now *Whitby* in *York-ſhire*; where, on the ſide of the *Quarto Decimans*, appeared *Colman*, Biſhop of the *Northern Engliſh*, with great numbers of his Clergy; together with *Hilda*, then Abbeſs of that Monaſtery. On the other ſide appeared King *Alcfrid*, and *Eanfeld* Queen of *Oſwy*, *Agilbertus* now, or late, Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Wilfrid*, afterwards Biſhop of *York* (a). *Anno* 664.

(a) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 25.

Having taken their places, King *Oſwy* appointed *Colman* to ſpeak firſt, who ſaid, *That the manner in which he obſerved the* Eaſter *Feſtival was the ſame he had received from thoſe who had ſent him thither, and they from their Forefathers, all Men of great and unqueſtionable Holineſs; and that they had taken their Pattern from the beloved Evangeliſt St.* John, *who had taught that Obſervance to the Churches he had preſided over* (b). *Colman* having ended his Diſcourſe, King *Oſwy* appointed *Agilbertus* to begin, but he excuſing himſelf by reaſon of his unskilfulneſs in the *Engliſh* Tongue, deſired that *Wilfrid* might ſpeak the ſenſe of his Party: King *Oſwy* readily admitted the excuſe of *Agilbert*, and commanded *Wilfrid* to ſpeak, and *Wilfrid* as readily obeyed, and ſaid, *Our manner in obſerving* Eaſter *is the ſame with what we have ſeen at* Rome, *in* Italy, *and* France, ; *the ſame that* Africa, Aſia, Greece, *and* Egypt, *and generally the whole Chriſtian World obſerve, excepting the* Britons *and* Scots, *and their Followers.* (c)

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

SECT. II. This Controverſy, how little ſoever it may appear, had given a great deal of trouble to ſome *Anno* 664.

of

of the preceding Ages of the Church. The Reſurrection of our bleſſed Lord, as it conſummated the evidence of his being the promiſed Meſſiah; and in conſequence thereof, the truth of the Doctrines which he had delivered; ſo it had all the Marks of veneration, the importance of the thing deſerved; and ſeems, from the Day in which it was accompliſhed, to have been received as a Feſtival of the Chriſtian Church, and both the Annual and Weekly commemoration thereof extended together with the pale of the Church.

But as this Feſtival was received by the Conſent, rather than any known Command of Chriſt or his Apoſtles, or any authoritative Act of the Church, ſo there was no Time eſtabliſhed for the Annual celebration thereof. Hence the Uſages of the Church became very different: And becauſe the Reſurrection of Chriſt fell in with the *Jewiſh* Paſſover, ſome Chriſtians took their Rule from that Rule which God had given to the *Jews*, for the celebration of the Paſſover; and obſerved their *Eaſter* from the fourteenth Day of the firſt Month incluſive, till the twentieth, without any regard to the Day of the Week on which it happened: And this, as *Socrates* obſerves, was the general practice of the Churches of the *Leſſer Aſia* (*a*). Theſe, from hence, acquired the Title of *Quarto decimans* (*b*); and the better to juſtifie their practice, theſe pretended to follow the Tradition and Example of St. *John*. (*c*)

(*a*) Socrates *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *c.* 21,
(*b*) Ibid.
(*c*) Ibid.

There were others, which though they pretended to the Tradition and Rule of St. *John*, yet never obſerved their *Eaſter* but on the firſt Day of the Week. This was the caſe of the *Britiſh* and *Scotiſh* Churches, and thoſe of their Eſtabliſhment amongſt the *Engliſh Saxons* (*d*). Their Rule was the firſt Day of the Week, from the fourteenth incluſive, to the twentieth after the Full Moon following the vernal Equinox (*e*): But the Uſage which was at this time more generally received, and here contended for, was that which was called the Rule of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* (*f*), and this was the firſt *Sunday* from the fourteenth Day at Evening, till the one and twentieth of the Moon following the Vernal Equinox. (*g*)

(*d*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 25.
(*e*) Ibid.
(*f*) Ibid.
(*g*) Ibid.

This, as *Wilfrid* pretended, was the Rule eſtabliſhed by the Council of *Nice* (*h*); but in this he contradicts the Authority of *Socrates*, (*i*) who ſaith, that that Coun-

(*h*) Ibid.
(*i*) Socrates *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *c.* 21.

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cil did not determine, but recommend a general Unity: And *Euſebius* ſaith much the ſame thing, (*a*) only adds, that it was there decreed, that the Chriſtians ſhould not follow the uſage of the *Jews* (*b*); and indeed, notwithſtanding all the Zeal of *Wilfrid*, and thoſe of his Party, to ſhelter their pretence under the Authority of that Council, and the Names of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and the firſt Ages of the *Romiſh* Church, it is very evident, that the Cycle and Computation, upon which this ſide of the Controverſie was grounded, had its beginning from the *Greeks*, and not till after the Council of *Nice*; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that that Cycle was at this time generally received, and that the *Britons* and *Scots* were at this time ſingular in their obſervance of this Feſtival.

(*a*) Euſebii *Vit.* Conſtant. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 18.

(*b*) Ibid.

And ſo they might have continued, and in Peace and Charity too, had the Spirit, as well as the Uſages of the firſt Ages deſcended to the preſent Age; for *Euſebius* (*c*) and *Socrates* (*d*) have both obſerved, that till the ſowre and peeviſh Zeal of *Victor*, Biſhop of *Rome*, diſturbed the Quiet and Peace of Chriſtendom, every Church ſate quiet and undiſturb'd in the enjoyment of its own Uſages; and notwithſtanding their different Ceremonies, a common Spirit of Peace and Charity dwelt amongſt them; and when that undiſcreet Prelate interupted it, *Irenæus*, Biſhop of *Lyons* in *France*, very juſtly, and with great ſharpneſs reproved him for it (*e*).

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Socrat. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. 21.

(*e*) Ibid.

SECT. III. *Wilfrid* had the more general Uſage on the ſide he pleaded for, and ſaid all the Controverſie about *Eaſter* was capable of; but if he had oblig'd the World with the Hiſtory and Foundation of the Eccleſiaſtick Tonſure, the ſecond Article in this famous Controverſie, he had outdone the Charity of preceding Ages: St. *Paul* has told us, *That if a Man wear long hair it is a ſhame to him*; and there is no doubt but this Conſideration, and the general Precepts of the Goſpel, had introduced into the Church a general modeſty and decency of Attire; eſpecially amongſt thoſe who were to be Examples, as well as Paſtors to the Church of *Chriſt*.

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But beyond this, Antiquity has given us no footſteps of the Eccleſiaſtick Tonſure; and *Bede* has left us in the dark, as to the Arguments on this ſubject; only the Writer of *Wilfrid*'s Life has told us, that the Eccleſiaſtick Tonſure was a cutting the Hair of ſuch Perſons

as were to receive any Holy Function, in the form of our Saviour's Crown of Thorns (*a*). If human Nature had not a dark ſide, and daily experience taught one, that the Zeal of good Men ſeldom bears true proportion to the Subjects of it, one would wonder how an Uſage of this kind ſhould creep into the Church; but much more, that it ſhould ever be thought a ſubject big enough to divide it. This was called the Tonſure of St. *Peter* (*b*).

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfridi. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 46.

(*b*) Ibid.

Theſe Affairs having been thus debated, and with great heat on both ſides, it was at laſt concluded, by King *Oſwy*, in favour of the Catholick *Eaſter*, and the Eccleſiaſtick Tonſure (*c*). *Colman*, Biſhop of the *Northumbrians*, and ſuch of the Clergy and Nobility as favoured the other ſide, were very uneaſie: As for *Colman*, he ſo reſented this Reſolution, that he ſome time after quitted his Biſhoprick, and, after ſome time returned to *Ireland*, his Country (*d*): It is very probable, that was what the other ſide expected, and deſired; and *Tuda*, one of the oppoſite, ſucceeded *Colman* (*e*), but *Tuda* dying in a few Months, by the Intereſt of King *Alcfred*, *Wilfrid*, though yet but about thirty Years of Age, was choſen Biſhop of the *Northern Engliſh* (*f*).

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 24.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 56.

Although the chief intention of this Synod was to open a way to a Communion betwixt the Churches of the *Engliſh*, which followed the Uſages of the *Britons* and *Scots*, and thoſe eſtabliſhed by the Miſſionaries from *Rome*; yet it is obſervable, that *Wilfrid* did not ſo much as pretend, that the Biſhop of *Rome*, or the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by vertue of any Delegation from the See of *Rome*, had any Authority over the Church of the *Northern Saxons*; or that the Model of Pope *Gregory* was any way obliging; but on the other ſide he gave the moſt publick Teſtimony, that it was poſſible to give, to the contrary.

For he was no ſooner choſen Biſhop, but he propoſed, that he might go into *France*, and there be conſecrated, (*g*) though the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Deus dedit*, was yet living; and with the conſent both of the King and all the Party, he was at the publick Charge ſent over thither (*h*), and was there Conſecrated by *Agilbertus*, Archbiſhop of *Paris* (*i*). This was the ſame Perſon who had been preſent at the 'foreſaid Synod, and who had quitted

(*g*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfridi. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 57.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Ibid. Et Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 28.

quitted the Biſhoprick of the *Weſt-Saxons*, becauſe the King thereof had divided that Biſhoprick without his conſent, and erected a new See at *Wincheſter*; and being returned to *France*, his Native Country, was made Archbiſhop of *Paris*, and was in that Poſt when *Wilfrid* applied to him for Conſecration; and though the Conſecration of the Metropolitans of other Provinces be the firſt and diſtinguiſhing Right of the Primate of a National Church; and the conſecrating of the Biſhops of the Province, the common Right of every Metropolitan; and this Inſtance a direct contradiction to the model and appointment of *Gregory* (*a*), yet we do not find that the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* ever complained, or that *Wilfrid* was ever blamed for it.

(*a*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* [illegible] *Epiſt.* 15.

Whereas if *Deus dedit*, at this time Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had been eſteemed as Metropolitan of *England*, according to the Model of *Gregory*, that Prelate could not have over-looked the Affront, nor *Wilfrid* have paſſed uncenſured: And this Inſtance confirms what is obſerved by *Bede*, that *Theodore* was the firſt Perſon owned as Metropolitan of *England*; however bringing the *Northern Engliſh* to a Reſolution, to ſubmit to the Rites of the *Roman* Church, was of great importance to the Miſſionaries.

SECT. IV. Thus far things ſorted to the deſire of that Party, which aimed at changing the Rites and Uſages of the Churches under the *Scotiſh* Eſtabliſhment; but *Wilfrid* delaying his return from *France* a little too long, the Intereſts of the *Quarto decimans* prevailed in the Court of *Oſwy*; and, by the conſent of that Prince, *Ceada*, a *Scot* from *Ireland*, and who is thought to have been Brother (*b*) to *Ceadda*, at this time Biſhop of *London*, was made Biſhop of the *Northumbrians*. *Ceada* being elected, the King appointed that he ſhould go to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to be Conſecrated (*c*), but that Prelate dying before the Biſhop elect could arrive at *Canterbury*, he went into the *Weſt*, and was Conſecrated by *Wini*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (*d*); and *Wilfrid* was forced to retire to his Abby again (*e*); ſo fickle and unſteady are the Favours of a Court.

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(*b*) Wharton *de Epiſ.* Lond. *pag.* 12.

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 29.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. XV *Scriptor. pag.* 58.

But though this was doubtleſs a great Mortification to the Party of *Wilfrid*, yet it ſeems very evident, that it was owing rather to the Perſonal Failings of *Wilfrid*, than

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than any change in the Sentiments of the King; for if we take the Character of *Wilfrid* from his Conduct, and the Pomp and Luxury he afterwards introduced into the Church, he appears a Man of a daring, aſpiring, and vain-glorious Temper, and one who affected Noiſe and Shew; and it is probable, that his Spirit or Conduct laid him open to the oppoſite Party, which was too conſiderable to be overcome and inſulted at once.

For as it appears, that after his Reſtoration to his Biſhoprick, *Wilfrid*'s Attendance and way of Living were ſuch, that in his Habit, his Arms, the Magnificence of his Houſes, the greatneſs of his Train, his Wealth and Riches, he is ſaid to equal the State and Pomp of Kings (*a*); ſo on the other hand it appears, that notwithſtanding this compliance with the Enemies of *Wilfrid*, the Kings, both Father and Son, remained ſteady in their Reſolution to receive the Rites and Uſages of the *Roman* Church, and unite with that Church which the Miſſionaries from thence had planted in theſe Nations.

(*a*) *Ejuſdem pag.* 63.

SECT. V. And as this manifeſtly appeared in the choice of *Cedda* and *Tuda*, both of that Party, and by ſending *Cedda* to receive his Conſecration at *Canterbury*; ſo a little time afforded a freſh opportunity to put this Matter paſt all doubt; for *Deus Dedit*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, dying not long after this Synod, *Oſwy*, King of the *Northumbrians*, and *Ecgbert*, King of *Kent*, after ſome debate on the Affairs of Religion, came to this Reſolution, that they would chooſe ſome Perſon of the *Engliſh* Nation to ſucceed in the See of *Canterbury*, whom they would ſend to *Rome* to be conſecrated, according to the Ceremonies and Uſages of that Church; and who, for the time to come, might, on the ſame foot, eſtabliſh the Diſcipline of the *Engliſh* Churches, and a ſucceſſion of Clergy (*b*); and indeed, the indiſcreet Heats on both ſides were ſuch, that the Friends and Enemies to the Eccleſiaſtick Tonſure mutually refuſed to receive Conſecration from each other: And theſe Heats kept the Princes and People of the different Communions at ſuch diſtance, and created ſuch Difficulties, and uneaſineſs of Converſation, that their common Peace and Intereſt made it neceſſary to look out for a Remedy.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 29.

And

And therefore, in purſuance of the foreſaid Reſolution, *Wighart*, by Birth an *Engliſhman*, and a Prieſt bred in the Church of *Kent*, was by common conſent choſen Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and with Letters from the Kings of the *Northern* and *Kentiſh Saxons*, ſent to *Rome* to receive his Conſecration (*a*); where the Archbiſhop elect was received with Marks of Kindneſs and Reſpect, ſutable to the conſequence of this Affair; (*b*) but whilſt things were preparing for his Conſecration, the new Archbiſhop died by a Plague then reigning at *Rome* (*c*). *Anno* 666.

(*a*) Ibid

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

This was a great diſappointment to the *Saxon* Princes, but at the ſame time it furniſhed *Vitalian*, Biſhop of *Rome*, with a very advantageous and deſirable opportunity to bring that about, which his Predeceſſors, and the Miſſionaries from *Rome* had, for above threeſcore Years, been labouring for in vain.

Hitherto the famed Converſions of the *Engliſh*, like thoſe more modern of the *Chineſes*, or the pretended Submiſſions of the *Greek* Church, had ſerved the ends of Oſtentation and Noiſe, but done little towards enlarging the Authority of the See of *Rome*; but having now Commiſſion from the greateſt of the *Saxon* Princes, to ſend them an Archbiſhop conſecrated at *Rome*, *Vitalian* preſently caſts about to find out a Man fit to be truſted with the Intereſts of the See of *Rome*; and after ſome time fixed upon *Theodore* (*d*), a *Greek* by Nation, born at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, and bred a Monk, but a Man of great Spirit and conſiderable Learning and Conduct; but though *Vitalian* thought fit to truſt this Prelate with the care of Souls, yet ſo jealous was he of the Rites and particular Intereſts of the *Roman* Church, that he appointed *Adrian* a Monk, not only to attend *Theodore* into *England*, but to be as it were a guard upon him, leſt he ſhould introduce the Opinions or Uſages of the *Greek* Church (*e*).

(*d*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 1.

(*e*) Ibid.

SECT. VI. *Theodore* was conſecrated the ſeventh of the Calends of *April*, or the twenty fifth of *March*, in the Year 668 (*f*); and in *May*, the Year following, he came into *England*, where he approved himſelf a very active Prelate; and by the Favour and Aſſiſtances of thoſe Princes who had called him to that Truſt, he changed the whole Face of the *Saxon* Churches, and did more towards enlarging the Authority of the Archbiſhops *Anno* 668.

(*f*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 1. *Anno* 669.

of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Rome*, than all his Predeceſſors had done ſince the coming of *Auſtin*.

Beſides what is before related, there were many things which favoured the Union of the Churches, of the *Scotiſh* and *Roman* Eſtabliſhment; for the *Eaſt-Saxons* were at this time Tributaries to the *Mercians* (*a*), and *Wulfere*, the King thereof, had a great Friendſhip with King *Alcfred*, and was a favourer of *Wilfrid* (*b*), and by frequent Converſation with him rendred very inclinable to come over to the Uſages of the *Roman* Church; and *Jarumman*, Biſhop of that Kingdom, dying about the time that *Theodore* came into *England*, the Intereſt of the other ſide was in a great meaſure broken by his Death, and that Prince eaſily brought to join in the Project formed by the Kings of *Northumberland* and *Kent* to unite the *Saxon* Churches.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 30.

(*b*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 58.

As for the Kingdoms of the *Weſt-Saxons* and *Eaſt-Angles*, they had already received the Uſages of the Church of *Kent*, and the *South-Saxons* were yet unconverted: The way was thus prepared for the uniting of the *Saxon* Churches, when *Theodore* came into *Britain*: But his Authority as Metropolitan ſeems the greateſt obſtruction to this Affair; for the Authority of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had never yet extended beyond the Kingdom of *Kent*.

And Men who eaſily part with Uſages, which leave their Intereſts ſafe and untouched, are with difficulty brought to ſubmit to Changes which leſſen their Rights or their Power. And the whole courſe of the *Saxon* Story ſhews they knew no Authority the Biſhop of *Rome* had to give them a Metropolitan, againſt their Wills; and the independance of the ſeveral Kingdoms lay croſs the Reaſon upon which the Authority of Metropolitans was firſt founded; and though our Hiſtorians are ſilent therein, one has much ado to forbear thinking, that this was the true reaſon why *Wilfrid* declined appearing at the firſt Synod held under *Theodore*, and openly reſiſted the Authority of the ſecond.

And it is not unlikely that this was the true reaſon, why that Prelate did, at his firſt advancement to the See of *York*, chooſe rather to go to *France* than to *Canterbury* to receive his Conſecration. However this Matter be, *Theodore* who ſeems to be the greateſt Man that had ever

ever yet filled his Chair, but of a bold and overbearing Temper, well conſidering how much it imported him to make a right uſe of the preſent juncture of Affairs, was no ſooner arrived, but he preſently applied himſelf to ſecure the Favour and Aſſiſtance of the *Saxon* Princes; and in order thereunto travelled over the greateſt part of the *Britiſh* Iſle (*a*), and with great Zeal every where recommended the Uſages of the *Roman* Church (*b*).

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 2.

(*b*) Ibid.

SECT. VII. *Wilfrid*, Biſhop of *York*, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Zeal and Sufferings for the ſame Cauſe; and therefore it ſeems probable, that his Caſe was one of the firſt Subjects of *Theodore*'s Care; and there were ſeveral things which favoured the hopes *Theodore* had conceived of reſtoring *Wilfrid* to his Biſhoprick; for *Ceada*, who ſucceeded *Wilfrid*, was an eaſy, good, and humble Man, and one who had the true Spirit of a Chriſtian Prelate, and conſidered the weight of the Truſt, and the Account which muſt attend it, more than the Dignity of it. *Anno* 670.

And therefore being told by *Theodore*, that he had uſurped the Right of *Wilfrid*, and that he was not canonically conſecrated, he anſwered, that it was not Choice but Obedience which had called him to that Truſt he was poſſeſſed of; and that if there was any defect either in his Title or Conſecration he was very ready to part with his Truſt, and to retire (*c*): But *Jarumman*, Biſhop of *Lichfield*, dying about this time, the Matter in diſpute was thus compromiſed.

(*c*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 2.

Ceada having been conſecrated by *Wini*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, but aſſiſted by two *Britiſh* Biſhops (*d*), to remove all Scruples about the validity of his Conſecration ſubmitted to the Impoſition of *Theodore*'s Hands (*e*), and by the Intereſt of his Party was removed to *Lichfield* (*f*); and *Wilfrid* was reconciled to *Oſwy*, King of the *Northumbrians*, and by the ſame Intereſt reſtored to his Biſhoprick (*g*).

(*d*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 28.

(*e*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 2.

(*f*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 3.

(*g*) Ibid.

Whilſt advances were thus making towards the Union of the *Saxon* Churches, *Theodore* well knowing that the Impreſſions owing only to the Arts of Addreſs are ſeldom laſting; and that no ties are ſo ſtrong as thoſe which are bound upon Men by a real Intereſt and Advantage, publiſhed a Reſolution equally ſuited to his Character and Deſign,

Deſign; and this was to inſtruct the *Saxons* in the knowledge of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, and in the knowledge of Arithmetick, Geometry, Muſick, and other uſeful parts of Learning; and in purſuance of this Reſolution, he himſelf, and *Adrian* the Monk, were at ſome pains on this Subject.

And having brought over Books and Maſters, *Theodore* ſet up Schools, which taught the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues with ſo good ſucceſs, that *Bede* ſaith, there were ſome of their Scholars, in his time, ſo perfectly Maſters of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, that they were able to ſpeak them with the readineſs and fluency of their native Language (*a*).

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 2.

It is hard to ſay, whether the Wiſdom or the Charity of this Undertaking was the greater. It was eaſy to ſee, that the Maſters brought from *Rome* would not forget the Uſages of that Church, and that the *Saxons* trained under them would readily take the intended Impreſſions; and that there was no other way throughly to break the Intereſt of the *Quarto decimans*, but to outdo the Schools ſet up by the *Scots*, by ſetting up other more eminent. It was a wiſe Thought, and the Succeſs was anſwerable.

Anno 673.

SECT. VIII. Every thing being thus prepared, and the intended Union of the *Saxon* Churches ready for the laſt hand, a Synod was agreed upon amongſt the *Saxon* Princes, which met in *September* this Year (*b*), at a place called *Herudford*, in the County of *Hertford*, and probably the ſame place that is now called *Hartford*, and the chief Town of that County. Beſides *Theodore*, only four *Engliſh* Biſhops appeared in Perſon, and one by his Legate (*c*), but not one of the *Britiſh* Biſhops or Clergy.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 5.

(*c*) Ibid.

Wilfrid, Biſhop of *York*, appeared by a Deputy; *Biſi*, Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Angles*; *Lutherius*, Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*; and *Winfrid*, Biſhop of the *Mercians*; and *Putta*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, appeared in Perſon; of which laſt four, the three former had been conſecrated by *Theodore*, and probably raiſed to that Station by his Intereſt; and *Putta*, during the vacancy of the See of *Canterbury*, had been conſecrated by *Wilfrid*; but *Theodore*, as Biſhop of the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Kent*, was the rightful Metropolitan to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and had conſecrated the other three, and therefore *Theodore*, ſetting

ting aſide his Character as Archbiſhop, had the faireſt Title to the Chair, and did accordingly preſide in the Council.

After ſome Diſcourſe to recommend the unity of the Church, and a juſt veneration to the Decrees of the firſt Councils, to which the Council promiſed obedience, *Theodore* produced a Collection from the ancient (*a*) Councils, whether his own or the ſame, which had before been received in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches is not material; but it is not unlikely, that the better to acquaint the *Engliſh* with the Diſcipline and Order of the ancient Church, *Theodore* had brought over a Copy of the Collection or Book of Canons, which is menti-on'd in the later end of the thirteenth Seſſion of the Council of *Calcedon* (*b*), and was afterwards confirm'd in a Novel of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, and in the ſixth Century tranſlated by *Dioniſius exiguus*, and received into the Weſtern Church.

(*a*) Ibid.

(*b*) *Concil. Tom.* II. *Edit.* Jurii *pag.* 187.

And it is moſt probable, that this was the Book which *Bede* ſaith, *Theodore* produc'd in this Council: He alſo added ſuch new Canons, or rather made ſuch alterations in the Canons of the ancient Councils as he thought moſt needful to fit them to the preſent ſtate of the *Engliſh* Church: And this ſeems to be the caſe of the firſt, the ſeventh, and the ninth Canons aſcribed to that Council. The reſt appear much the ſame, as in the Collection of *Dionyſius*; but whether this was the caſe, or whether the Collection here produced was his own is not very material; but a Collection being produced, ten Canons were agreed upon, of which the firſt was, that upon which the Union was to be founded, and which did virtually include an acknowledgment of *Theodore*'s Authority as Metropolitan; and this was,

1. That *Eaſter* ſhould be obſerved in the ſame manner through the *Engliſh* Churches, the firſt *Sunday* after the Full Moon of the firſt Month. 2. The ſecond, That no Biſhop ſhould exerciſe any Authority in the Dioceſs of another. 3. That Biſhops ſhould give no unneceſſary Trouble to Religious Houſes, nor take any thing from them by force. 4. The fourth directs, That Monks ſhould be ſubject to the Authority of their Abbots, and not remove to any other Monaſtery, but with the leave of the Abbot. 5. The fifth requires, That the Clergy

ſhould not remove from one Dioceſs to another without Letters commendatory from their own Biſhops, nor be received in any other Dioceſs without them; and that in caſe it ſo happened that the Offender was retained by the Biſhop of the other Dioceſs, and he did not return the Clerk when required, both the Clerk and the Biſhop ſhould be excommunicated. 6. The ſixth requires, That Biſhops, and the Clergy in their Travels, ſhould not perform any Offices of their Function and Miniſtry, without the leave of the Biſhop of the Dioceſs wherein they were. 7. The ſeventh propoſes the convening of Synods twice in the Year, but this was thought inconvenient, and therefore agreed by general conſent, that a Synod ſhould be held once a Year at *Cloſeſhoo*, and that the Calends of *Auguſt* ſhould be the time of meeting. 8. The eighth directs the precedence of Biſhops according to ſeniority of Conſecration. That which paſſes under the Title of the ninth Article ſeems rather a ſubject of Debate, than a Reſolution, and Canon of the Council: And this was, 9. That the number of Biſhops ſhould be inlarged, as the number of the Faithful increaſed. 10. The tenth forbids Inceſt and Fornication, and allows Divorce in caſe of Adultery, but forbids him that puts away his Wife to marry again, and adviſes him to be reconciled to her.

Anno 673.

SECT. IX. Theſe things being agreed upon, they were put into Writing by a publick Notary, and ſubſcribed by the Biſhops who were preſent (*a*); but beſides the 'foreſaid Biſhops, *Bede* to whom alone Poſterity owes the account of this Affair after theſe words, *Theodorus cogit Concilium Epiſcoporum*, immediately adds, *Unà cum eis qui canonica patrum ſtatuta diligerent, & noſſent, magiſtris eccleſiæ pluribus*; but he has left us in the dark as to the Perſons he here ſpeaks of, and the Intereſt they had in this Affair; and the other parts of his Story afford us but a very imperfect light.

(*a*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *c.* 5.

For tho' it appears, that beſides the Cathedral or Epiſcopal Churches, ſome other Churches were built by the *Saxons* before the meeting of this Council; yet it is evident by the ninth Canon of this Council, that a great part of the Nation was yet unconverted; and by the ſecond Canon thereof, that *Parochia*, or Pariſh was yet uſed to ſignifie the Diſtrict or Dioceſs of the Biſhop; and by

by the direction of *Gregory* to *Auſtin*, the Lower Clergy had no Maintenance ſeparate and diſtinct from that of their Biſhops; and in all probability, the courſe of their Maintenance was yet the ſame; and what was done by *Theodore*, towards building of Churches in Cities and Villages, and ſettling of Pariſhes, was doubtleſs of later date.

So that it ſeems very probable, that Parochial Inſtitutions, as now underſtood, were unknown in *England* at the time of this Council; and by the beſt account we have of all the Foreign Councils, the Lower Clergy had never yet been allowed a Suffrage therein in their own Rights, and but ſeldom a Place; ſo that upon the whole Matter it ſeems reaſonable to conclude, that the Rights and Intereſt, which, upon wiſe and juſt grounds, the later Ages have allowed the Parochial Clergy in ſuch Aſſemblies, were yet intirely unknown to the *Saxon* Churches. At leaſt thus much is evident, that the ſtile, as well of this Council, as of that of *Hatfield*, appropriates the decreeing Power intirely to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops: In the firſt thereof, immediately before the Canons, *Theodore* inſerts his own Name, together with the Names of the Biſhops then preſent; and to them alone aſcribes the Suffrage and Conſent. And the Stile of the Council of *Hatfield* is, *Præſidente Theodoro gratia Dei Archiepiſcopo Britanniæ Inſulæ, &c. una cum eo ſedentibus cæteris Epiſcopis Britanniæ Inſulæ.* *Theodore*, by the Grace of God, Archbiſhop of the Iſle of *Britain*, and of the City of *Canterbury*, together with his Aſſeſſors the Biſhops of *Britain*.

So that unleſs by the many Maſters of the Church be here meant, ſuch of the Clergy and Religious as came to accompany their Biſhops, and to aſſiſt them with their Counſel and Advice, or ſuch as Curioſity, and deſire to be inſtructed in the Rites of the new Communion they were entring into brought hither, together with thoſe who generally attended *Theodore*, and were employed by him in the Inſtructions of ſuch as were brought over to the Diſcipline and Rites of the *Roman* Church, we ſhall be as far to ſeek for the Character, as we are for the Buſineſs of thoſe Men, which *Bede* tells us were preſent at this Council, and to whom he allows the Title of *Magiſtri Eccleſiæ*, or Maſters of the Church.

Thus

Thus much is certain, that before this time the Lower Clergy were allowed a place in ſome Provincial Synods, but with this difference, that the Prieſts were allowed to ſit behind their Biſhops, but the Deacons were obliged to ſtand in the Ring before them; for in the fourth Council of *Toledo*, about the time of *Honorius* the Firſt, Biſhop of *Rome*, and in the beginning of this Century, the third Canon whereof gives us an account of the manner of holding Provincial Councils (*a*), it appears that this was then the practice of the *Spaniſh* Churches: Yet the ſame Canon makes it evident, that the authoritative and decreeing Power of ſuch Aſſemblies, was yet lodged in the Biſhops only; and it may be this Canon of *Toledo*, compared with the ſixth Canon of the Council of *Cloviſhoe*, in the Year 816, will be the beſt comment on the matter under debate.

(*a*) *Concil. Tom.* II. *Ed. Jurii, p.* 728.

For ſince that of *Toledo* makes it plain, that both Prieſts and Deacons were allowed a place in Provincial Councils, and yet both the 'forementioned Canons agree in appropriating the decreeing Power to the Biſhops, one would think there ſhould remain no further ground for doubt, who are here meant by Maſters of the Church, and what Figure they made in this Aſſembly.

Anno 673.

SECT. X. Nor are we better informed of the Authority by which this Council was convened, than of the Perſons of whom it did conſiſt. *Bede* aſcribes it to *Theodore* (*b*); and thoſe who meaſure his Authority by the Right of his Succeſſors, generally reſolve it into an act of the Metropolitical Power. *Baronius*, who commonly reſolves every thing that can ſerve their Intereſt into the Authority of the Biſhops of *Rome*, tells us, it was called by *Theodore*, by Authority from the See of *Rome* (*c*); and it is poſſible he may be believed by thoſe who judge of their ancient Right, by the modern Authority of the Biſhops of *Rome*.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 5.

(*c*) Baron. *Annal. Anno* 672.

But nothing is more evident, than that their calling of Synods, without the bounds of the Patriarchate of *Rome*, was an uſage yet unknown to the World, and not allowed in *England* till above four hundred Years after this Council. But one that conſiders the preſent ſtate of the *Saxon* Affairs, will be very apt to conclude, that the conveniency of this Council was owing to the *Saxon* Princes; who, upon the deſire of *Theodore*, con-

ſented

ſented to, and appointed the meeting of their Biſhops, for the eſtabliſhment of a National Church; and which is more, it ſeems very evident that *Theodore* owed his Metropolitical Authority entirely to their Conſent and Agreement.

Thus much is certain, that the Catholick Church took pattern, in this Inſtance, from the State, and fixed the Metropolitan where the Empire had firſt fixed the Metropolis of the Province; but that the Biſhop of the chief City of a Province ſhould extend his Authority beyond the bounds of the Province, or carry it into a ſeparate and independant Province, was a direct contradiction to the reaſon upon which this Inſtitution of Metropolitans was founded, and without a Precedent in the uſage of the Church; and the Reaſon is ſtill ſtronger, where Kingdoms are independant.

And this was the caſe of *Theodore*; ſo that as Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* he had juſt as much reaſon to claim the ſubmiſſion of the Biſhops of the other Kingdoms, as the King of *Kent* had to demand their Crowns: He had indeed all the Right the Biſhops of *Rome* could give, and ſo had the Sees of *London* and *York*; for *Gregory the Great* appointed that thoſe Cities ſhould be the Seats of the future Metropolitans (*a*). And *Honorius* confirmed his Grant to the See of *York*, and ſent a Pall to *Paulinus*, Biſhop thereof (*b*). And when time had eſtabliſhed the Authority the Biſhops of *Rome* did in after Ages uſurp, the Biſhops of *York* did, upon this ground, during the greateſt part of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, ſtruggle with thoſe of *Canterbury* for the Primacy: And it is not without ground, that the Writers of *Becket*'s Story, charge *Gilbert Foliot*, Biſhop of *London*, the great oppoſer of that Prelate, with a deſign to raiſe his See to the ſtate of an Archbiſhoprick, and aſſert the independance thereof on that of *Canterbury* (*c*).

Yet for above an Age after the Death of *Paulinus*, the Biſhop of *York*, his Succeſſors remained in the ſtate of private Biſhops; and for ought appears to the contrary, unleſs we may credit *John* of *Salisbury*, the Biſhops of *London* never pretended to any advantage from the Grant of *Gregory the Great*; but have quietly remained in the ſtate of private Biſhops ever ſince.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 29.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 17.

(*c*) Whatton *de Epiſt.* Lond. *p.* 62.

In ſhort, whatever the favourers of the Court of *Rome* may pretend to, he who conſiders the preſent ſtate of the *Saxon* and *Roman* Church; and in particular what is ſaid before, and what the caſe of *Wilfrid*, (at this time Biſhop of *York*) will quickly call me to relate, will ſee great reaſon to reſolve the Union of the *Saxon* Churches; and as a neceſſary preliminary to that Union, the admiſſion of *Theodore*, as Metropolitan of the ſaid Churches, into the favour of the *Saxon* Princes, and conclude their Conduct in this whole Matter, founded on convenience and reaſons of State, and not in a belief, that the Biſhops of *Rome* had any Authority from Right, to intermeddle in the Affairs of the Churches under their Government; much leſs to oblige them to own the Biſhop of another Kingdom as their Metropolitan,

Nor did theſe Princes aſſume a greater Power in their own Dominions, than the Council of *Chalcedon* had declared the unqueſtionable Right of the Emperor; for when it became a Queſtion in that Council (*a*), whether the Biſhops of *Nice* and *Nicomedia* had a Right to the Title and Authority of Metropolitans, all that that Council thought needful to determine in that Affair, was no more than producing the Imperial Edicts, by which thoſe Cities were conſtituted Metropolies: And theſe being read, the Right of the reſpective Biſhops was immediately allowed; and there is no doubt but the *Engliſh* Princes had the ſame Right to diſpoſe their own Favours to their own Cities; and in conſequence thereof, thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Privileges, which by the Conſent and Uſage of the Catholick Church were allowed to follow the Civil Rights and Preeminences of Cities.

(*a*) *Concil. Tom.* II. *Edit.* Surii *pag.* 187.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Ab Anno 673 ad Annum 680.

SECT. I. *TErms on which the Churches of the* Scotiſh *and* Roman *Communions were united. Hardſhips on the* Engliſh *and* Scotiſh *Clergy. Changes of Worſhip and Diſcipline, which enſued. Auricular Confeſſion, before unknown to the* Engliſh *Church, introduced. That Rite not then eſteemed a Sacrament.*

II. *The haughty and violent Conduct of* Theodore. *The new Union reſented by the* Engliſh *Clergy.* Winfrid *Biſhop of* Lichfield *depoſed.*

III. *Beginning of* Wilfrid's *Troubles: The true ground thereof.*

IV. *Some Reflections on the Hardſhips which fell on* Wilfrid. *The Biſhoprick of* York *divided. A third Biſhoprick founded at* Hagulſtad.

V. *Biſhoprick of* Seydnaceſter *founded.*

VI. Wilfrid *goes to* Rome, *finds a Council aſſembled to prepare Inſtructions to be ſent to the Council of* Conſtantinople.

VII. *Speculations of* Petrus de Marca, *and Mr.* Schelſtrate, *from this Journey of* Wilfrid.

VIII. *Mr.* Schelſtrate's *Argument from hence, to prove the extent of the* Roman *Patriarchate, conſidered.*

IX. Wilfrid *not the Legate of the* Engliſh *Church, as* Binius, *&c. pretend. The abſurdity of that pretence.*

X. *Conjectures, on which the Opinions of* Binius *and* Baronius *are founded, groundleſs.*

XI. *A probability that there was no ſuch Patriarchal Council, as that where* Wilfrid *is ſaid to be preſent.*

XII. *Conjecture about the occaſion of the Miſtakes about that Council, if ſuch,* Wilfrid *not preſent thereat.*

XIII. *A ſhort Account of* Wilfrid's *Conduct at* Rome. *The occaſions of the Confuſions and Miſtakes about him.*

XIV. *Miſtakes of* Binius, Baronius, Labbe, *and* Schelſtrate, *about the bounds of the* Roman *Patriarchate ſhewed from Hiſtory, Council of* Conſtantinople.

XV. *Mi-*

XV. *Judgment of Pope* Agatho *in favour of* Wilfrid. Wilfrid *ſent to* England *with it: Rejected by* Theodore *and the* Engliſh *Biſhops; and* Wilfrid *ſent to Priſon for inſiſting on it.*

Anno 673. SECT. I. BUT whatever the Reaſons were upon which the Council of *Hertford* founded the Union of the *Engliſh* Churches, that Council gives us the firſt view of a National *Engliſh* Church, united under one common Metropolitan, and gives us ſome light into the Terms upon which the Churches, before independant on each other, were united into one. And it is very probable, that this change in the Government, occaſioned much greater Alterations in the Diſcipline and Worſhip of the *Saxon* Churches.

For though no other terms of Communion are mentioned in this Council, but obſerving of *Eaſter* after the manner of the Weſtern Churches; yet it appears by the Penitential, aſcribed to *Theodore* (*a*), that the Biſhops who had been conſecrated by the *Scots* or *Britons*, were not to be admitted to the Offices of their Function, without the Impoſition of the Hands of a Catholick Biſhop: That *Chriſm*, and the Holy *Euchariſt*, were permitted to thoſe only who made profeſſion of re-uniting themſelves to the Church (*b*); and that thoſe who doubted of their Baptiſm were directed to be re-baptized (*c*).

(*a*) Theodori *Pœnitent. Ed. Petit. cap.* 9. *pag.* 8.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

Theſe terms of Communion lie ſo open to reproachful Reflections on the Truth and Honour of the Churches, wherein the greateſt part of the *Engliſh* People had received their Baptiſm, that it is hard to ſay, whether there was more Inſolence in impoſing on the one ſide, or more Mortification on the other in ſubmitting to them.

Thus did *Theodore* unite the Churches of the *Scotiſh* and *Roman* Eſtabliſhments, and bring thoſe who had long refuſed it, to join in Communion with the Church planted in *England* by the Miſſionaries from *Rome*. And if Judgment be made by the Penitential, or as the Judicious and Learned *Monſieur du Pin* more properly calls it the Ritual of *Theodore*, the *Engliſh* had a multitude of burthenſome and trifling Ceremonies in exchange for a Worſhip, much more agreeable to the plaineſs and ſimplicity of the Goſpel.

Amongſt

Amongſt other changes in the Diſcipline of the Church, *Theodore* endeavoured to introduce Auricular Confeſſion, (*a*) an Uſage which, according to the account that *Egbert*, Archbiſhop of *York*, gives of it in the beginning of the next Century, was before unknown to the *Engliſh*, converted by the *Scots* and *Britons* (*b*) : but to do right to *Theodore*, the ſame Author ſaith, this Uſage was limited to the Faſt of the tenth Month ; and then deſign'd for to prepare the Laity, as well as Clergy and Monaſticks, for the devout receiving the Body and Blood of Chriſt at the Nativity of our bleſſed Saviour (*c*).

(*a*) Egberti *Dialogus*, *pag.* 281.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

But ſo far was the Church of *England* from being acquainted with the late Doctrines of the Council of *Trent*, which not only gives Confeſſion a place amongſt the Sacraments of the Church, but aſſerts its being received by the univerſal Church, as an Inſtitution of Chriſt (*d*), and pronounces an *Anathema* on all that deny a Sacramental Confeſſion to be neceſſary to Salvation (*e*), that *Egbert* ſays, it was not received into the Church of *England*, till the time of *Theodore*, cotemporary with *Vitalian*, Biſhop of *Rome*, (*f*). And at the time of Writing this Diſcourſe of *Egbert*, concerning the Diſcipline of the Church, which I take to be about the middle of the Eighth Century, and about forty or fifty Years after the Death of *Theodore*.

(*d*) *Seſſio.* 14 *cap.* 5.

(*e*) *Seſſio.* 14. *cap.* 6.

(*f*) Egberti *Dialogus de Inſtit. Eccleſ. pag.* 281.

Egbert, then Archbiſhop of *York*, and Maſter to *Alcuinus*, and one of the greateſt Men of that Age, ſpeaks of Confeſſion, as introduced but about fifty Years before ; and as a Rite which by Uſage was then growing up into Reputation, but not bound upon the Conſciences of Men by any authoritative Act of the Church of *England*, or any Precept of the Goſpel ; but we hear nothing of its being a Sacrament of Chriſt's Inſtitution, or received as ſuch by the Univerſal Church, or of its being neceſſary to Salvation ; but, on the contrary, *Egbert*'s Account of this Uſage, puts it beyond a doubt, that the *Northern Engliſh* did not receive it from the *Scots*, from whom they received their Chriſtianity ; but, on the contrary it appears, that the *Scots* were ſo far from teaching this Doctrine to the *Engliſh*, that in an Epiſtle of *Alcuinus* to the *Scots*, wrote about an hundred Years after this time, it was then a receiv'd Opinion amongſt the *Scots*, that Confeſſion was not to be made to a Prieſt, but to

God alone (*a*): No, this was a new Uſage introduced by *Theodore*; and the changes of this kind were the Converſion the *Saxons* owed entirely to the *Romiſh* Miſſionaries.

(*a*) Spondan. *Epit.* Baron. *Annal. An.* 778.

And *Theodore* had ſo great a ſhare therein, that if we judge, as too many do, by the Services to the *Roman* Communion, rather than the common Intereſts of the Chriſtian Faith, he will more than rival *Auſtin*, in his pretence to the Title of the *Engliſh* Apoſtle; and his See was no leſs obliged to him; for the Title, at leaſt the Authority, which Time and Uſage have made the unqueſtionable Right of his Succeſſors, were owing to his Conduct; who, as *Bede* ſaith, was the firſt Perſon that was ever owned as Archbiſhop of the *Engliſh* Church (*b*).

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 2.

And if there be truth in the obſervation of *Mezeray*, that the Title of Archbiſhop was not given to Metropolitans, till the Eighth Century, nor in uſe before that time, his See is not only indebted to *Theodore* for the Authority of a Metropolitan, but for a precedence of Title, other parts of the Weſtern Church were not yet acquainted with: And *Theodore* was not only the firſt Archbiſhop of the *Engliſh*, but one of the firſt Archbiſhops in the Weſtern Church; but there is reaſon to think, that great Man is miſtaken, and that he who looks into the Epiſtles of *Gregory the Great*, or before his time, into the Novels of *Juſtinian*, will find reaſon enough to think ſo.

Anno 676. SECT. II. Though the previous Reſolution of the *Saxon* Princes to unite into one National Church, made every thing in this Council ſort to the deſire of *Theodore*, yet it ſeems very probable, that this Revolution was better liked by the *Engliſh* Clergy, in the Idea and firſt Notions thereof, than in the iſſue and practice of it; and that this Conſideration added to the overbearing Temper of *Theodore*, was the reaſon why his new Authority was ſo often croſſed and ruffled by the Clergy; and that this forced him upon the violent Methods which *Bede* relates.

The firſt Perſon which fell under his diſpleaſure was *Winfrid*, Biſhop of *Lichfield*, he had been conſecrated by *Theodore*, and preſent with him at the Synod of *Hertford*; yet about this time he is ſaid to be depoſed by that Prelate.

Bede

Bede gives no account of the circumſtances of that Proceeding, and ſaith no more of the reaſon of it, but that it was *propter meritum cujuſdam inobedientiæ*, (*a*) occaſioned by ſome ſlight or diſobedience to the Authority of *Theodore*; but at the ſame time he ſaith of *Winfrid*, that after his Depoſition he retired to the Monaſtery of *Aetbearne*, where he ſpent the remainder of his Life in great Piety and Devotion (*b*).

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 6.

(*b*) Ibid

This Depoſition was before the ſecond Council, under *Theodore* held at *Hatfield*, and was not followed by the erecting of new Biſhopricks, as in the caſe of *Wilfrid*; and therefore it ſeems moſt probable, that although his Depoſition be aſcribed to *Theodore*, and doubtleſs he was at the Head of the Intereſt by which it was accompliſhed; yet both the nature of the Metropolitick Power, and the bounds preſcribed to it by the Canons of the Catholick Church, as well as the preſent circumſtances of Affairs, incline one to think, that *Winfrid* was not forced from his Station by any act of the Metropolitical Power, which hitherto knew of no other way of depoſing Biſhops but in Synod; but that this Depoſition was the act of the Civil Power: And accordingly *Eddius* (*c*) ſaith, that the Cauſe of *Wilfrid* was heard in the Court of the King of *Mercia* (*d*); and inſtead of ſaying he was Depoſed, ſaith, he was driven from his Biſhoprick; and it is not unlikely, that the hardſhip which fell upon that Prelate, was owing to the Intereſt of the Union; and that his nonconformity to the Terms thereof, was the chief reaſon of it.

(*c*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfridi. *Cap.* 24. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 63.

(*d*) *Ejuſdem pag.* 64.

Unleſs we rather think, it was occaſioned by the oppoſition which he made to King *Etheldred* and *Theodore*, in a Deſign they had formed to ſubdivide and erect new Biſhopricks in the Kingdom of *Mercia*; but whatever occaſioned it, it appears that *Winfrid* quitted his Biſhoprick; and that *Sexulfus*, Founder of the Monaſtery of *Peterborough*, ſucceeded him therein, about three Years after the Council of *Hertford* (*e*).

(*e*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 6.

SECT. III. About two Years after, *Winfrid*, Biſhop of *Lichfield*, had quitted his Station, *Wilfrid*, Biſhop of *York* followed him in the ſame Fate; and it is not unlikely, that his Sufferings ſprung from a Reaſon of the ſame kind, at leaſt, that this was the ground upon which *Theodore* was induced to ſtand ſtill, without attempting

Anno 678.

attempting to prevent his Exile, or intercede for his Reſtoration.

For though there is no doubt but he was ſincere in his Zeal for the Ceremonies and Uſages of the new Church; yet one who judges of his Spirit and Character, by his pompous living, and the perpetual Broils he was engaged in, being no leſs than three times driven from his Biſhoprick, will be very apt to think he was uneaſy under the authority of the new Metropolitan; and if this was not the reaſon of his Baniſhment by *Ecgfrid*, yet the Writer of his Story ſaith, that his refuſing to ſubmit to the Canons of *Theodore*, was one of the reaſons of his Exile by *Alcfred*, Succeſſor to *Ecgfrid*, in the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians* (*a*).

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 44. XV. *Scriptor. p.*75.

And indeed if *Gregory the Firſt*, or *Honorius*, Biſhops of *Rome*, had any Right to appoint Metropolitans in *England*, *Wilfrid* and his See had doubtleſs a great deal of Wrong: But his Wrong was not ſuch as thoſe make it, who pretend to ſay he was depoſed by *Theodore*; for it does not appear that *Theodore* had any concern in that Affair, further than in the Conſecration of the Biſhops who ſucceeded him, and in continuing in the Intereſt of the King of the *Northumbrians*; and probably approving the Fact after it was done. For *Bede*, ſpeaking of the Tranſactions of this Year, thus delivers his Account of this Affair (*b*): *This Year*, ſaith he, *a diſpute ariſing betwixt King* Ecgfride, *and the moſt Reverend Biſhop* Wilfrid, *that Prelate was driven from his Biſhoprick, and two new Biſhops ſubſtituted in his room.* And the Writer of *Wilfrid*'s Life, who was alſo a partaker with him in his Sufferings, agrees in this Account (*c*), wherein there is nothing that looks like the Act of a Metropolitan.

(*b*) Quo etiam anno orta inter ipſum Regem Ecgfridum, & Reverendiſſimum Anſtititem Wilfridum, diſſentione, pulſus eſt idem Antiſtes à ſede ſui Epiſcopatus, & duo in ejus locum ſubſtituti Epiſcopi. Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *c.* 12.

(*c*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 63.

But on the contrary it is evident he was overwhelmed by a ſtrain of the Civil Authority; and as the *Saxon* Chronicle ſaith, deprived by King *Ecgfride* (*d*). The reaſon the Writer of *Wilfrid*'s Life gives of this Proceeding, ſeems rather to juſtifie the King than the Prelate, whoſe Accuſation, he ſaith, was *his ſecular Pomp, his Riches, multitude of Abbies, magnificence of his Houſes, the innumerable Army of his Followers, cloathed and armed as Princes* (*e*). Reaſons enough to awake the Jealouſie

(*d*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 678.

(*e*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 63.

louſie of a Prince, and in ſome meaſure excuſe the effects thereof; for when the Clergy forget their own Character, Princes are leſs blameable if they forget it too.

But the Account the Writer of the Life of *Etheldreda*, Queen of the *Northumbrians*, publiſh'd by the *Benedictines*, ſeems fully to explain what both *Bede* and *Eddius* have thought fit to leave in the dark, and to give the true ſecret of *Wilfrid*'s Baniſhment; and this was an Intrigue of that Prelate to get that Princeſs divorced from her Husband King *Ecgfride*; for that Author tells us, that Princeſs having ſet her Heart upon Chaſtity and Retirement, ſo ſteddily refuſed the Embraces of the King her Husband, that his Right, his Authority, and Perſwaſions, the Injuſtice done him, and the Temptations he was thereby expoſed to, made no impreſſions upon her.

And *Wilfrid*, who, if that Writer ſays true, had the greateſt influence upon that Princeſs, was ſo far from attempting to ſet her Conſcience right, that that Author ſaith, that (*a*) Queen *Etheldreda*, by the Advice of *Wilfrid*, importuned the King to grant her a Divorce; and at laſt, without the conſent of the King, withdrew her ſelf to a Monaſtery, and took the Veil from the hands of *Wilfrid* (*b*). The King endeavoured to bring her back again, but all in vain.

(*a*) *Regina Etheldredæ monitis præſulis Wilfridi edocta divortium à rege diu poſtulaverit; ſed vix obtinens, Monaſterium ſubiit, & velamen ſanctitatis ab eo ſuſcepit.* Vita Etheldridæ Act. Benedict. ſeculo 2o. *pag.* 748.

(*b*) Ibid.

This his ill ſucceſs turned his Paſſion for that Princeſs into a rage againſt *Wilfrid*; and he had the ſhare of it which he had deſerved; for the Writer of that Princeſs's Story, ſaith of that King, 'From that time 'the King had not that inward eſteem for 'the Holy Confeſſor *Wilfrid*, which formerly 'he had, but ſilently concealed his Anger till 'he had a fit opportunity to ſhew it; and 'then for his proceeding in this Affair drove 'him from his Biſhoprick (*c*); and the *Hiſtoria Elienſis* gives the ſame Account of *Wilfrid*'s Baniſhment, and for the moſt part in the very ſame words (*d*).

Nec deinceps Confeſſorem domini cum Wilfridum, à Secretis, ſeu affectu ut ante coluit, ſed iram diu tacito contra illum ſub pectore geſſit; & expectata hora, ob iſtiusmodi cauſam, eum de ſede ſui Epiſcopatus expulit.

(*c*) *Ejuſdem pag.* 750.

(*d*) *Angliæ Sacræ. Pars* I. *p.* 598.

But ſo different are the Judgments of Men, that the ſame Actions which ſeem juſtly to have expoſed this Princeſs to Cenſure, and *Wilfrid* to Puniſhment, did, in the Opinion of thoſe who wrote their Story, make the one a Saint, and the other a Confeſſor.

SECT. IV. But if the Conduct of *Wilfrid* in this particular was capable of excuſe, yet when one looks a little backward, and obſerves how *Colman*, late Biſhop of the *Northumbrians*, was driven from the ſame Station, and how hardly the *Scotiſh* Clergy had been treated by the *Northern Engliſh*, who owed their Converſion to them; and that *Wilfrid* was at the head of the Party, who were the doers of it, and was rewarded with the Chair of the Holy Prelate, who, by his Intereſt, was obliged to abandon it.

The Behaviour of *Wilfrid* appears ſo capable of ſevere Reflections, that if the ill nature and preſumption of bold interpretations of Providence, did not render it unſafe to judge of things of ſuch dark and uncertain nature, one would be too apt to think the Hardſhips that fell upon *Wilfrid*, were conducted by the Divine Juſtice; but if this was the caſe, yet the Mercy and Goodneſs of God waited upon his Rod; for, in time, this hardſhip upon *Wilfrid* opened a way to make him a great Inſtrument of God's Glory in the converſion of the *South-Saxons*; and for the preſent, his Dioceſs and his Country gained all that *Wilfrid* loſt, by being driven from them. As for the Wealth which fell from him, like the Mantle of *Elijah*, it fell upon his Brethren; and, upon his Baniſhment, the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, before but one Biſhoprick, was divided into two.

(a) Bed *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 12.

Boſa was made Biſhop of *York* (*a*), and a new Biſhoprick was founded under the old name of the Biſhoprick of *Lindisfarne*, or *Hagalſtad*, now *Hexam* in *Northumberland* (*b*), and *Eata* was made Biſhop thereof. And about three Years after, this later Biſhoprick was again divided into two, and a new See planted at *Hagulſtad*, and *Trumbert* was made Biſhop thereof; and *Eata*, the former Biſhop, had his Title limited to that of Biſhop of *Lindisfarne* only (*c*).

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

Anno 678.

SECT. V. And about the time that this Dioceſs was firſt divided, *Ecgfride* founded another Biſhoprick at *Sydnaceſter* in *Lincolnſhire* (*d*), near the *Humber*; for that Prince having defeated *Wulfere*, King of the *Mercians*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of that part of *Lincolnſhire* which was, and is ſtill known by the Name of *Lindeſey*; and which was before a part of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, cauſed a Biſhoprick to be erected in his new Conqueſt, by

(d) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 12.

by the name of the Biſhoprick of *Sydnaceſter*, or of *Lindſey*, and put this Truſt into the hands of *Eadhead*: And this firſt Biſhop of *Sydnaceſter* was conſecrated at *York*, together with *Boſa*, the new Biſhop thereof, and *Eata* Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, by *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (*a*). (*a*) Ibid.

But the ſettlement of *Eadhead* was as ſhort lived as the Glories of *Ecgfride*'s Conqueſt, for *Edilred* ſucceeding *Wulfere* in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, recovered the Province which he had loſt, and at once forced *Eadhead* from his Biſhoprick (*b*), *Ecgfride* from the poſſeſſion of the Country he had conquered, and put an end to the Biſhoprick of *Sydnaceſter*, till it was reſtor'd again by the Authority of *Edilred*, ſome time in the next, or the Year following. (*b*) Ibid.

Eadhead retired to the Monaſtery of *Ripon* in *Yorkſhire*, a Monaſtery built by *Wilfrid*, and which, upon his Exile being become void, was conferred upon *Eadhead*, in which ſtation that Prelate continued till he died; but the Biſhoprick of *Sydnaceſter* being reſtored by *Edilred*, King of the *Mercians*, *Edilwine* was made Biſhop thereof.

SECT. VI. Whilſt theſe things were doing in *Britain*, *Wilfrid*, and his exiled Followers, made the beſt of their way to *Rome*, where he arrived the latter end of this, or the beginning of the following Year. *Agatho the Firſt*, at this time Biſhop of *Rome*, was employed in preparing Perſons and Inſtructions for the ſixth General Council, called by the Emperor to meet at *Conſtantinople*; and, beſides the obligation he was under from the Command of the Emperor, the Honour of his See, which had ſuffer'd by the Miſcarriage of his Predeceſſors *Honorius* and *Vitalian*, laid a more particular obligation upon *Agatho*, if not to vindicate thoſe Prelates from the reproach of favouring the Hereſy of the *Monothelites*, yet at leaſt to cover himſelf and his See from the like diſhonour, by clearing himſelf from all ſuſpicion of favouring that Hereſy. *Anno* 679.

And that he might be ſenſible how much this imported him, in the Epiſtle of the Emperor *Conſtantine* to *Donus*, who was *Agatho*'s immediate Predeceſſor, and Biſhop of *Rome* when this Council was firſt ſummoned, he tells that Prelate, that the Biſhops of the *Eaſt* were ſo offended at

at *Vitalian*, late Biſhop of *Rome*, that *Macarius*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, had petitioned that his Name might be left out of the *Dypticks* of the Church (*a*).

(*a*) *Concil. Tom. 6. Ed. Lab. Col.* 598.

And whatever has been ſaid to the contrary, *Honorius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, is expreſly charged with the Hereſy of the *Monothelites*, in the firſt Seſſion of that Council (*b*): And the truth of this Charge is allowed in the Epiſtle of Pope *Leo*, the ſecond Succeſſor to *Agatho*, inſerted in the Hiſtory of this Council (*c*); beſides, the Quarrel about Precedence betwixt the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* and *Rome* was not yet forgotten. Theſe Conſiderations made it very neceſſary for *Agatho* to be well adviſed of the Inſtructions and Perſons ſent to this Council; and therefore he convened a Synod of his own Clergy, which was aſſembled at this time when *Wilfrid* came to *Rome*.

(*b*) *Concil. Tom. 6. Edit. Lab. Col.* 611.

(*c*) *Concil. Tom. 6. Ed. Lab. Col.* 1117.

Anno 679.

SECT. VII. This Circumſtance, together with the application of *Wilfrid* to the See of *Rome*, have given occaſion to Speculations very different; and at once ſerved as an Argument to *Monſieur Schelſtrate* (*d*), to prove the Right of the Biſhop of *Rome* to convene the whole Weſtern Church to his Councils; and to the Learned *Petrus de Marca*, to advance his Right to Appeals (*e*).

(*d*) *Antiquit. illuſtrat. pag.* 104. *Sect.* 115.

(*e*) *Concord. Sacerdot. & Imper. Lib.* 7. *cap.* 18. *Sect.* 15. *pag.* 349.

And yet whilſt theſe Arguments ſeem to ſerve one Cauſe, the Suppoſitions on which they are founded mutually deſtroy each other; for that *Wilfrid* ſhould come to *Rome*, by vertue of a Summons from Pope *Agatho*, as the repreſentative of the *Engliſh* Church, as *Monſieur Schelſtrate* ſuppoſes; and yet, at the ſame time, appeal from the Authority of the Church he came to repreſent, as a Perſon oppreſſed and injured by it, as the Learned *de Marca*, is juſt as likely, as that a Prince ſhould at once baniſh a Man from his Kingdom, and truſt him with the Secrets and Intereſts thereof, and honour him with the Character of his Embaſſador, whilſt he remained an Exile.

Nor is it eaſy to ſay, whether the Reaſonings of theſe two Great Men, how croſs ſoever they appear to each other, agree better with truth of Hiſtory, than they do with one another; for though *Agatho*, who executed the Imperial Edict, directed to *Donus*, his Predeceſſor, had the ſame Authority that the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, *Jeruſalem*, and *Alexandria* had; and was, by the

the Edict of the Emperor required to tranſmit the Sentiments of the ſeveral Metropolitans within the *Roman* Patriarchate, relating to the Matter in Controverſy; and in purſuance thereof, called the Biſhops of his own Province to *Rome*, where, by themſelves, and their Preſbyters, who repreſented ſuch as could not be perſonally preſent, appeared to the number of about fifty.

(*a*) *Wilfrid* was admitted into this Provincial Synod, and probably in that Aſſembly gave an Account of the Doctrine of the *Engliſh*, *Britiſh*, and *Scotiſh* Churches, with relation to the Matter in Controverſy; and it is probable, that in obedience to the Emperor, *Agatho* required the ſeveral Metropolitans, within the *Roman* Patriarchate, to convene their reſpective Provincial Councils, and in due manner tranſmit the Reſults thereof, and that he was obeyed therein.

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. XV. *Scriptor pag.* 65.

SECT. VIII. Yet all this is ſo far from being ſufficient ground for *Monſieur Schelſtrate* to affirm, that the *Roman* Patriarchate extended to the whole Weſtern Church; or proving that *Agatho* ſent his Summons to all the Weſtern Biſhops to appear at his Council at *Rome* (*b*), much leſs what he inſinuates, and would have believed, that in obedience thereunto, *Wilfrid* appeared as the Proctor of the *Engliſh* Church; that the Hiſtory of this Council puts it beyond all doubt, to every impartial Reader, that a conſiderable part of *Italy* it ſelf was not, at this time, within the Patriarchate of *Rome*.

Anno 679.

(*b*) E. Schelſt. *Antiq. illuſtr. pag.* 104. *Sect.* 115.

For it appears, by almoſt every Seſſion of this Council, that the whole number of Biſhops, who are ſaid to be ſubject to the Council of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and whoſe Judgments he at this time tranſmitted to the Council, did amount in all but to one hundred and twenty five (*c*); theſe were repreſented in this General Council, by *John* Biſhop of *Portua*, *Abundantius* Biſhop of *Paterno*, *John* Biſhop of the City of *Reggio*, under the Title of the Proctors or Repreſentatives of the Council of old *Rome*, conſiſting of one hundred twenty five Biſhops; and as the Council ſubject to the Biſhop of *Rome*, was thus repreſented, ſo *Agatho* was repreſented by *Theodore* and *George*, two Presbyters, and *John* a Deacon (*d*).

(*c*) *Concil.* Conſtant. *Actio prima.*

Locum præſentantibus centum viginti quinque venerabilium Epiſcoporum ſancti Concilii antiquæ Romæ, qui & per proprias ſubſcriptiones demonſtrantur in ſuggeſtione ab iis facta ad piiſſimum Imperatorem Conſtantinum.

(*d*) Ibid.

If this Account be compared with the Mandate of the Emperor, which requires the Biſhop of *Rome* to convene the Council of the Apoſtolick See (*a*), and to ſend to *Conſtantinople* ſome of the Metropolitans ſubject to the See of *Rome*, not exceeding the number of twelve, to repreſent the Council thereof (*b*); and to ſend three Perſons to repreſent his own particular Province (*c*), it will be very evident, that the Council ſubject to the Apoſtolick See, mentioned both in the Summons of the Emperor, and in almoſt every Seſſion of this Council, and which is ſaid to conſiſt of a hundred and twenty five Biſhops, cannot be meant of a proper Provincial Synod of the Biſhop of *Rome* called upon this occaſion; for it appears, that that Provincial Aſſembly conſiſted but of fifty Perſons (*d*), and of them the Presbyters were the greater number (*e*); but of the Patriarchal Council, or the Council ſaid to be made up of the Biſhops ſent to *Rome*, from the ſeveral Provinces within the *Roman* Patriarchate.

(*a*) *Concil. Tom. 6. Ed.* Lab. *Col.* 594.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 65.

(*e*) *Concil. Tomb. 6. Ed.* Lab. *Col.* 579.

And agreeably hereunto, in a Patriarchal Council under Pope *Martin the Firſt*, about the Year 649, the Biſhops who ſubſcribed the Decrees amount to about one hundred and ten (*f*); according to *Bede*, to one hundred and five (*g*); and yet not one of the *French* or *Spaniſh* Biſhops is included in that number; ſo that here we have a plain Account of the number of Biſhops at this time within the Patriarchate of *Rome*; and were there no other Reaſons, the very number of Biſhops is enough to demonſtrate, that the Bounds of that Patriarchate, and of the Weſtern Church, were not the ſame at this time.

(*f*) Spondan. *Epit. Annal. An.* 649.

(*g*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 18.

Anno 679. SECT. IX. But to put this Matter paſt all doubt, it appears by the Synodical Epiſtle of *Agatho*, Biſhop of *Rome*, to the Emperor, that *Theodore* and the *Engliſh* Biſhops had no Legate to repreſent them in the Council held at this time under *Agatho*; for the reaſon given in that Epiſtle, by that Prelate, for his delay in executing the Commands of the Emperor, was, that he delayed in hopes of *Theodore*'s joining with him (*h*), which proves, he did not actually join in that Synod. This Particular is tranſcribed from the 'foreſaid Epiſtle, both by *Baronius* (*i*), and *Monſieur Schelſtrate* (*k*), and ſeems to be the only ground for the different Speculations this Subject

(*h*) *Concil. Tom. 6. Ed.* Lab. *Col.* 685.

(*i*) *Annal. An.* 680.

(*k*) *Antiquit. illuſtrat. pag.* 104. *Sect.* 115.

ject has produced, by giving reaſon to believe, that *Theodore* was perſonally deſired at *Rome*, about this time, by Pope *Agatho*; and ſo was *Bede* about twenty Years after by Pope *Sergius*; but it was to aſſiſt that Prelate in Writing againſt the then prevailing Hereſy; and it is ſo evident, that this was the reaſon of *Agatho*'s deſiring the Preſence of *Theodore*, that notwithſtanding what *Baronius* has ſaid of his being ſummoned to *Rome*, he does elſewhere own (*a*), that he was invited to *Rome*, to aſſiſt *Agatho* in writing againſt the *Monothelite* Hereſy: And when the Abilities, the Country, and perſonal Obligations of *Theodore* to the See of *Rome*, and in particular to *Vitalian*, late Biſhop thereof, whoſe Memory and Honour were more immediately concerned in this Affair, ſhall be conſidered, the reaſon of *Agatho*'s deſire will be accounted for, without falling into the Miſtakes, which a Zeal for the Grandure of the See of *Rome*, ſeems to have run the 'foreſaid Learned Writers to.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. Anno* 679.

As for the Story of *Wilfrid*'s Legantine Power, it is ſo ill grounded, that *Binius*, who could not but be ſenſible how ridiculous it would appear, at the very firſt view, to affirm, that *Wilfrid*, who was an open and avowed Enemy to the *Scots* and *Picts*, and who had never had any Communion with the *Britons*, and was at this time baniſh'd by the *Engliſh*, ſhould yet be ſaid to be the Legate and Repreſentative of them all, in this Council, endeavours to ſhift off this difficulty, by ſaying, in his Notes on the Council of *Hatfield*, that *Wilfrid* having been acquitted in the Provincial Synod of *Rome*, was reconciled to *Theodore*; and upon that Reconciliation had a Proxy ſent by *Theodore* to appear as Legate of the *Engliſh* Church (*b*).

(*b*) *Concil. Tom.* 6. *Ed.* Lab. *Col.* 579.

SECT. X. *Baronius*, who agrees in this Opinion of *Binius*, that *Wilfrid* appeared as Legate of the *Engliſh* Church, ſaith he was deputed ſo to do by *Theodore*, at the Council held in *England*, on the occaſion of the *Monothelite* Hereſy (*c*): This could be no other Council but that of *Hatfield*; but whereas it appears by *Bede* (*d*), that the Council of *Hatfield* was held the fifteenth of the Calends of *October*, in the Year 680, according to the Account that Prelate himſelf gives, the Council under *Agatho* was held in *Rome* the *Eaſter* preceding, that is, about five Months before the Council of *Hatfield*.

Anno 679.

(*c*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 680.

(*d*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 17.

But

But if credit could be given in this particular to the *Saxon* Chronicle, the difficulty would be ſtill greater, for there the Council of *Hatfield* is placed in the Year 675, (*a*) that is five Years before the Council *Binius* and *Baronius* contend for; but the Account of *Baronius* is enough to take away the Commiſſion, the Writers of the ſame Sentiments have obliged *Wilfrid* withal, and make the Opinion he has aſſerted impoſſible, in point of time; beſides, it is manifeſt that the Reaſonings of *Binius*, *Baronius*, and *Schelſtrate*, do all depend on a ſuppoſition, that *Wilfrid* continued at *Rome*, after the Provincial Council held there under *Agatho*; and that he was reconciled to *Theodore* before the Council of *Hatfield*; whereas the Writer of *Wilfrid*'s Life, who accompanied him in moſt of his Travels, and probably was at *Rome* with him, at this time, ſaith, that immediately after that Provincial Council *Wilfrid* left *Rome*, and returned to *Britain* (*b*); and that he was not reconciled to *Theodore* till about ten Years after (*c*).

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 675.

(*b*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfridi. *cap.* 32. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 68.
(*c*) Ibid.

And indeed the ninth Canon of the Council of *Hatfield*, by which it is agreed, to increaſe the number of Biſhops, ſeems to be particularly levelled at *Wilfrid*; and was the chief ground of the long Quarrel betwixt *Theodore* and him.

We may add to this, that *Britain* had been given up by the *Romans*, above two hundred Years before the Council of *Conſtantinople*, and poſſeſſed almoſt as long by the *Engliſh*; that the firſt thought and original Summons to that Council, were from the Emperor; and his Briefs of Summons were directed to the Patriarchs and Biſhops within the Empire, and not to any other Biſhop or Church out of the Bounds thereof; that the Synodical Epiſtle of the Biſhop and Council of *Rome*, is no other than a return made in obedience to the Command of the Emperor; and that in the Body of that Epiſtle, the Biſhops, in whoſe Names it is written, do again and again own the Emperor as their Sovereign, and themſelves as his Subjects (*d*).

(*d*) *Concil. Tom.* 6. *Ed.* Lab. *Col.* 680.

Was there no other Argument to prove the *Engliſh* Biſhops not concerned in that Synodical Epiſtle, and conſequently not repreſented in the Council by which it was wrote, the ſtile of the 'foreſaid Epiſtle alone makes it as reaſonable to preſume, as it is to affirm, that *Britain*

was

was not at this time ſubject to the Empire, nor the Biſhops thereof the Subjects of the Emperor.

This too was the caſe of *France* and *Spain*; and if the Subſcriptions aſcribed to the Biſhops thereof were inquired into, it may be they would appear as ill-grounded as that of *Wilfrid*. There is no reaſon to doubt but thoſe Prelates had, about this time, their Provincial Synods, as well as *England* and *Milan*, and that they condemned the Hereſy of the *Monothelites*, tho' their Decrees have not had the good Fortune to be preſerved; yet thoſe Nations were neither within the Bounds of the Empire, or the Patriarchate of *Rome*, at the time of this Council.

SECT. XI. But after all the pains of theſe Learned Men, to prove *Wilfrid* the Legate of the *Engliſh* Church, in a Patriarchal Council held at *Rome* under *Agatho*, in the Year 680, one has much ado to forbear thinking, that there never was any one Aſſembly of that denomination under *Agatho*; but on the contrary, that the Council ſaid to conſiſt of one hundred and twenty five Biſhops, and called the Council of the Apoſtolick Church of the City of *Rome*, was no one Aſſembly, but that that Denomination was applied to the ſeveral Provincial Aſſemblies of the *Roman* Patriarchate; the Reſult whereof being tranſmitted to *Rome*, and by *Agatho*, Biſhop thereof, to the Emperor, might poſſibly from thence acquire the Title of the Council of ancient *Rome*. *Anno* 680.

And *Labbe*, in his Notes on the Council under Debate, ſaid to be held under *Agatho*, in the Year 680, owns that there are no footſteps or remains of any ſuch Council, but two Epiſtles to the Emperor, one of *Agatho* and the Clergy of *Rome*, the other a Synodical Epiſtle in the Name of the Council of the See of *Rome*, (*a*) whereas in all other Patriarchal Councils, the Time, and Place of the Aſſembly, and ſome Acts thereof appear; and the 'foreſaid Epiſtles rather confirm than deſtroy this Conjecture; for if the Biſhops of the whole *Roman* Patriarchate, or their Repreſentatives, had met in one Patriarchal Council, and this Council had conſiſted of all the Repreſentatives of the Weſtern Churches; nothing could be more abſurd, than for *Agatho* to ſend two diſtinct Synodical Epiſtles to the General Council, the one in the Name of the Clergy of the Archbiſhoprick

(*a*) *Concil. Tom. 6. Edit. Lab. Col.* 584.

Province of *Rome*, the other of the *Roman* Patriarchate, if all the Biſhops of that Patriarchate had met in one Aſſembly, and thereby made themſelves one Body, and in one common Synodical Epiſtle had declared their Senſe in the Matter in Controverſy.

Anno 680. SECT. XII. But if it be ſuppoſed, that the Book wrote againſt the *Monothelite* Hereſy, which under the name of the Epiſtle of the Council of the Church of *Rome*, is inſerted into the Collection of Councils, was drawn up by the appointment of *Agatho*; and after it had been approved by the Council of the Province of *Rome*, was tranſmitted to the ſeveral Archbiſhops within the Patriarchate of *Rome*, and by them in their ſeveral Provincial Synods approved, and ſent back to *Agatho*, to be tranſmitted to the Emperor; and by him tranſmitted, together with the Names of the ſeveral Biſhops by whom it was approved, the reaſon of the 'foreſaid diſtinct Epiſtles, and all the difficulties relating to the Patriarchal Council, ſeem to be accounted for; and the reaſon of the confuſion in our Hiſtory, in ſpeaking of *Wilfrid*, ſometimes as preſent at *Rome*, in the Provincial Council, conſiſting of fifty; ſometimes, as one of the hundred and twenty five Biſhops, of which the Council of the Apoſtolick Church, of the City of *Rome*, is ſaid to conſiſt, will be no longer a Secret.

However this Matter be, that which ſeems undeniable is enough to prove, that *Wilfrid* was not the Legate of the *Engliſh* Church, as *Baronius* and *Binius* contend; much leſs did he appear in the Patriarchal Council, by vertue of a Summons from Pope *Agatho*, as Mr. *Schelſtrate* would have it believed (*a*); and however new the foreſaid conjecture, relating to the Patriarchal Council, ſaid to conſiſt of one hundred and twenty five Biſhops, may appear, I am not ſingular in it; for *Richery*, in his Hiſtory of the Councils, (*b*) appears to be of the ſame Opinion; and if it be true, that there never was ſuch an Aſſembly under *Agatho*, a few Arguments are enough to prove, that *Wilfrid* was not preſent at an Aſſembly which never had a Being.

(*a*) E. Schelſt. *Antiq. illuſtr. pag.* 104. *Sect.* 115.

(*b*) Richerii *Hiſtor. Concil. Tom.* I. *pag.* 558.

Anno 680. SECT. XIII. On the beſt Judgment one can make from all the Light we have into this Affair, the Matter of Fact ſeems to be briefly this: *Wilfrid* being driven from his Biſhoprick, went to *Rome* the latter end of the Year 679,

679, and repreſenting to Pope *Agatho*, the Hardſhips that were put upon him, he was favourably received by that Prelate, and a Provincial Council being ſummoned by *Agatho* to meet at *Rome*, about the *Monothelite* Hereſy, aſſembled about *Eaſter* following; in this Aſſembly appeared in Perſon, and by Proxy, about fifty Biſhops (*a*): *Agatho* having related his Caſe to them, *Wilfrid* was admitted into this Aſſembly; and, beſides that of his own Caſe, probably gave an Account of the Doctrine of the *Engliſh*, *Britiſh*, and *Scotiſh* Churches, as to the Matter under diſpute; and therefore thoſe who tranſmitted the Judgment of the Council of the See of *Rome*, againſt the *Monothelites*, to the Council of *Conſtantinople*, to add to the Pomp and Reputation of that Judgment, did, after *Wilfrid* had left *Rome*, inſert his Name as a Witneſs to the Doctrine of the *Engliſh*, *Britiſh*, and *Scotiſh* Churches in the particular under diſpute.

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. XV *Scriptor.* *pag.* 65.

Agreeably to this Account, the Writer of his Life, and *Bede*, who word for word tranſcribes the ſame Account of this Affair, ſays, that *Wilfrid* gave an Account of the Faith of the 'foreſaid Churches, (*b*) but makes no mention of his having a Proxy or Deputation from them, a thing ſo much for the Honour of *Wilfrid*, that it could not poſſibly be omitted, if there had been any manner of ground for it; nor can it be allowed, without a direct contradiction to what all thoſe Writers have ſaid of the reaſon of his going to *Rome*, and of his conduct there.

(*b*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 51. XV. *Scriptor.* *pag.* 81. Bed. *Eccl.* *Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 20.

SECT. XIV. And it may be, if it was well inquired into, there would appear as little, if not leſs ground, for the Subſcriptions of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Biſhops to the Council of *Agatho*, than for that of *Wilfrid*. Thus much is certain, that whatever Arguments for the extent of the Patriarchate of *Rome*, the Writers of that Communion may draw from the Hiſtory of the Council of *Conſtantinople*, to prove *Britain*, *France*, and *Spain* within the Bounds thereof, that Hiſtory affords a proof beyond diſpute, that a great part of *Italy* it ſelf was not ſo happy at this time. *Anno* 680.

For whereas the Emperor had commanded *Donus*, Predeceſſor to *Agatho*, to tranſmit to the Council of *Conſtantinople*, the ſenſe of the ſeveral Provinces within his Patriarchate; and in obedience thereunto, Pope *Agatho* re-

returned the Judgment of the Clergy of his Patriarchate, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty five Biſhops. It is very evident, from the Epiſtle of *Manſuetus*, Archbiſhop of *Milan*, inſerted in the Hiſtory of that Council, (*a*) that that Prelate did, upon the occaſion of the Council, appointed by the Emperor to be held at *Conſtantinople*, ſummon a Provincial Synod, which met in the City of *Milan*; and having in that Synod, drawn up a Confeſſion of Faith, intituled, An Expoſition of the Faith by the Biſhops of the Synod of *Milan*, without the conjunction of the Council of the *Roman* Patriarchate, or the Mediation of *Agatho*, Patriarch thereof, *Manſuetus* did, by a Synodical Epiſtle, directed immediately to the Emperor himſelf, tranſmit to the Council of *Conſtantinople*, the Judgment and Doctrine of his own Province.

(*a*) Concil. Tom. 6. Ed. Lab. Col. 601.

And though *Platina*, in thr Life of *Donus*, does pretend, that the Church of *Ravenna*, which had, for a conſiderable time, ſtood ſo ſeparate from that of *Rome*, that it had obtained the Title of *Auto cephalos*, or Independant, was reduced to a ſubmiſſion to the Church of *Rome*, by Pope *Donus*; and that *Theodore*, at this time Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, made this Submiſſion; yet for all this, if the Caſe of *Ravenna* was not altogether the ſame with that of *Milan*, there is little foundation for the pretence of *Platina*; for it appears by ſeveral Seſſions of that Council, that *Theodore*, at this time Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, and his Clergy, are not comprehended in the number of the hundred twenty and five Biſhops, of which the Council of the *Roman* Patriarchate did conſiſt, but were repreſented by *Theodore* a Presbyter, and a Monk who was the Legate of that Archbiſhop.

In ſhort, It is ſo manifeſt, that *Milan* was not at this time within the Patriarchate of *Rome*, nor ſubject to the Biſhops thereof, that it appears by *Baronius*, that when Pope *Nicholas*, about three hundred Years after, ſent *Petrus Damianus*, Biſhop of *Oſtium*, as his Legate, to compoſe a Difference which had happened in that Archbiſhoprick; the Clergy denied his Authority, and affirmed that the *Ambroſian* Church ought not to be ſubject to the *Roman* Laws; and that the Biſhops of *Rome* had no Authority to judge, or order any thing in the See of *Milan*. (*b*)

(*b*) Baron. *Annal. Anno* 1059.

But

But to go no further, the account of this Affair, as it appears in the Hiſtory, and Seſſions of this Council, is enough to ſhew, that the *Roman* Patriarchate was ſo far from extending over the Weſtern Churches at this time, that on the contrary it ſhews plainly, that the Provinces of *Milan* and *Ravenna*, to ſay nothing of *Aquilea*, all lying within the Bounds of *Italy*, were not at this time within the Bounds of that Patriarchate. Theſe Reflections on the Sentiments of *Monſieur Schelſtrate*, and on the Conjectures of *Binius*, *Baronius*, and *Monſieur Labbe*, are alſo Anſwers enough to what the Learned *de Marca* ſaith of Appeals; for the reaſon on which he advances that Doctrine muſt immediately vaniſh, when once it appears, that *Britain* was not within the Bounds of the *Roman* Patriarchate; but how little ground thoſe Great Men had to found the Right of Appeals, or the extent of the Patriarchal Power, or indeed to challenge any advantage to the See of *Rome* from the Example of *Wilfrid*, the proſecution of his Story, to which I am now to return, will make very plain.

SECT. XV. *Wilfrid* coming to *Rome*, about the time that *Agatho* had convened his Provincial Synod, to make choice of Proctors, and prepare Inſtructions for the General Council appointed to meet at *Conſtantinople*, *Wilfrid*, by a Petition, (*a*) ſets forth his Caſe, repreſenting the Hardſhips he underwent, not only in being driven from his See, but in having his Dioceſs divided, and three new Biſhopricks erected therein (*b*), as he pretended, not only without his Conſent, but without a Fault any way meriting ſuch Treatment, *Agatho* introduced *Wilfrid* into his Provincial Council, conſiſting of fifty Biſhops, or their Proxies (*c*). *Anno* 680.

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 29.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

And there being no body to oppoſe, or contradict him, *Wilfrid* told his Story ſo well, that *Agatho* and his Synod were of Opinion, that he ought to be reſtored to his Biſhoprick again (*d*); and that if the Intereſts of Religion required the diviſion of his Dioceſs, yet that ſuch Biſhops ſhould be placed therein, as might have the approbation and good-liking of *Wilfrid* (*e*). And to give the greater force to this their Judgment, they pretended to decree, that if any Biſhop or Presbyter refuſed Obedience thereto, he ſhould be depoſed; and if any of the Laity, that they ſhould be ſhut out from the Holy Sacrament (*f*).

(*d*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 31.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid.

This Affair being thus diſpatched in the Synod of fifty Biſhops, without any notice of the General Council ſubject to the Apoſtolick See, or directions to wait the meeting thereof, *Wilfrid* was, by *Agatho* and his Synod, required to make what haſte he could to return to *Britain* (*a*), and to ſhew their Reſolutions to *Ecgfride*, King of the *Northern Engliſh*, and *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (*b*), and accordingly he obeyed (*c*).

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfridi. *cap.* 32.
(*b*) Ibid.
(*c*) Ibid.

But though *Theodore* had had his Education in *Rome*, and owed his Advancement entirely to the favour of that See; and though the late Revolution in the *Engliſh* Church had prepared the Kings and People for the moſt favourable Sentiments of the Wiſdom and Power of the Biſhops of *Rome*; yet it ſeems that *Theodore* was ſo little ſenſible of any Authority the Biſhops of *Rome* had to intermeddle in the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church, that he took no notice of the Sentence paſſed in favour of *Wilfrid*.

As for *Ecgfride*, the King of *Northumberland*, he was ſo little acquainted with Proceedings of this kind, and ſo far from acquieſcing in the Decree of the *Roman* Synod, that he looked upon it as a Cheat and Impoſture, (*d*) and was ſo fully perſwaded thereof, that he reſented the obſtinacy of *Wilfrid*, in refuſing to declare it ſo (*e*). However, to act in this Affair with the precaution that became his Character, he called his Nobility and Clergy to adviſe upon the Matter (*f*), and after mature deliberation, inſtead of yielding Obedience to the Judgment of *Agatho*, and his Council, and reſtoring *Wilfrid* to his Biſhoprick, that Prince, by the Advice and Conſent of his Biſhops and Nobility, ſent *Wilfrid* to Priſon, and put him under ſuch ſtrict Confinement, that he ſuffered no body to come near him; and in this miſerable condition he languiſhed nine Months (*g*), where we muſt leave him, and look back to the ſtate of the *Engliſh* Church under *Theodore*.

(*d*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 35.
(*e*) Ibid.
(*f*) Ibid.
(*g*) Ibid.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Ab Anno 680 ad Annum 691.

SECT. I. *Account of the riſe and progreſs of the* Monothelite *Hereſy.* Honorius, *Biſhop of* Rome, *guilty thereof. It occaſions the convening the Council at* Hatfield.

II. *The ſtate of Learning, and of the* Engliſh *Biſhopricks at the time of this Council: Wiſe Conduct thereof.*

III. *Proceedings of the Council of* Hatfield. Engliſh *Church ſettled on the Doctrine of Chriſt, explained by the firſt General Councils.*

IV. *This Council imitates a Provincial Council at* Milan, *and the Ancients.* John, *Præcentor of St.* Peter's *at* Rome, *preſent thereat. The Miſtakes that* Baronius *runs into upon that Account. The true occaſion of his coming into* England.

V. Theodore *ſends a Copy of this Council to* Rome. *The Monkiſh Account of this Council.*

VI. *The Biſhopricks of* Worceſter, Leiceſter, Hereford, *founded.* Sydnaceſter *reſtored.*

VII. Leiceſter *ſaid to be miſtaken for* Cheſter: *Reaſon of that Charge conſidered.*

VIII. Wilfrid *flies to the* South-Saxons, *where he is inſtrumental in the Converſion of the People of* Suſſex *and* Surrey.

IX. *Occaſions and Circumſtances of their Converſion. Biſhoprick of* Seolſey *erected.* Wilfrid *firſt Biſhop thereof.*

X. *Chriſtian Religion generally received in* England. Wilfrid *reconciled to* Theodore: *reſtored to* York: *Changes thence enſued.*

XI. Wilfrid's *unquiet Spirit occaſions a new Baniſhment, flies to the King of* Mercia, *is made Biſhop of* Leiceſter. *Death of* Theodore *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

SECT.

Anno 680.

SECT. I. THough the difficulties with which Men penetrate common things, ſhould, one would think, lead them to the moſt profound Modeſty, in their Judgments and Diſcourſes of things in their own Natures incomprehenſible; yet ſuch is our unhappy Temper, that whilſt Ignorance leads us into Errors, the Vanity of Men is ſuch, that it is with the greateſt difficulty they part with them; and very often we chooſe rather to part with God's way of ſpeaking than with our own: And as this unhappineſs in the nature of Men has given beginning to many Hereſies, ſo it has made them very troubleſome and uneaſy to the World.

That which at this time divided the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches was the Hereſy of the *Monothelites*, which ſeems rather a Branch of the *Eutychian* Hereſy, or that Hereſy in another dreſs, than a new and diſtinct Opinion. *Eutyches*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Conſtantinople*, about the middle of the Fifth Century, had broached an Opinion which deſtroyed the diſtinct Properties of the Divine and Humane Nature of Chriſt, and with obſtinacy perſiſted therein; but that Hereſy falling under the cenſure of the Council of *Chalcedon*, during the Life of *Eutiches*, made no great progreſs in the World.

But out of the Aſhes of that Hereſy aroſe that of the *Monothelites*, about the middle of the Seventh Century, which by aſſerting one Will and Operation in Chriſt, did, at leaſt in the conſequence of it, deſtroy the diſtinction of Natures; for which reaſon, as I think, *Bede* in his Preamble to the Council of *Hatfield*, ſpeaks of the Hereſy beſt known by that of the *Monothelites*, under the name of the *Eutichian* Hereſy; but to let paſs the original of this Error, about the middle of this Century, the Hereſy of the *Monothelites* begun to ſpread it ſelf in the Church, and prevailed ſo far, that *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, and *Paul*, ſucceſſively Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, and *Honorius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and many of the leading Men of the Eaſtern Church, fell into this Error; and *Theodore*, at this time Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*; and *Mucarias*, Patriarch of *Antioch*; together with many of their Clergy, were great Favourers of it (*a*): And this interupted the ancient Method to preſerve the Unity of the Church, by

(*a*) *Concil. Tom. 6. Ed. Lab. Col.* 594.

(a) by Epiſtles, containing a Confeſſion of Faith, ſent from new advanced Biſhops, to the Patriarchs, and other eminent Biſhops of the Church; as well from the Biſhops of *Rome*, to thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, and *Jeruſalem*, as on the contrary: And theſe Letters being thus reciprocal, a common Friendſhip and Communion were preſerved; but for the Reaſons above, this courſe ceaſing, about this time, not only put a ſtop to the Intercourſe betwixt the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches (b), but it made ſo wide a Breach betwixt them, that ſome Eaſtern Biſhops petitioned the Emperor *Conſtantine Pogonatus*, that the Names of the Biſhops of *Rome* might be left out of the *Dypticks* of the Church (c), and particularly the Name of *Vitalian*, by whom *Theodore* was ſent into *Britain*.

(a) Ibid.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

As this occaſioned the calling of the Sixth General Council, to meet this Year at *Conſtantinople*; and in order thereunto ſeveral Provincial Councils; ſo *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, could not but think himſelf obliged to take notice of a Hereſy which made ſo much noiſe in the World at this time; and therefore having intimated this to *Ecgfride* King of the *Northumbrians*, to *Ethelred* King of the *Mercians*, *Adulph* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Lotharius* King of *Kent*, a Council was called, which met at *Hatfield* the fifteenth of the Calends of *October*, or the fifteenth of *September* 680.

SECT. II. Learning was at this time in ſo few hands, and at ſo low an ebb, through the Weſtern Churches, that what *Baronius* ſaith of *Agatho*'s ſending for Archbiſhop *Theodore* to *Rome*, to aſſiſt him in writing againſt the Hereſy of the *Monothelites* (d), has much more appearance of Truth than what he elſewhere ſaith of his being ſummoned thither, as a ſubject to the Council of *Rome*; and his Conduct in this Council ſeems to anſwer the receiv'd Opinion of his Abilities; for notwithſtanding what *Diceto* ſaith, of an hundred Biſhops aſſembled in the Council of *Hatfield*, one has much ado to find out the tenth part of that number.

Anno 680.

(d) Baron. *Annal. Anno* 679.

For the whole Kingdom of *Mercia*, containing all the Midland Counties of *England*, had at this time but two Biſhops, and theſe were *Sexulphus* Biſhop of *Lichfield*, and *Ethelwin* Biſhop of *Sydnaceſter*; or at the moſt but five, if the diviſion of that Kingdom was made the Year

preceding; but it ſeems probable, that that Diviſion was owing to the reſolution taken in the Council of *Hatfield*, to increaſe the number of Biſhopricks; and if the deſign was formed the preceding Year, yet it appears that *Boſel*, who was the firſt actual Biſhop of *Worceſter*, was not conſecrated till this Year (*a*). *Erkenwal*, Biſhop of *London*, was the only Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and *Hedda* of the *Weſt*. *Boſa* was Biſhop of *York*, *Eata* of *Lindisfarne* and *Hagulſtad*, *Ecca* Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Angles*, *Quichelm* was about this time Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and it is probable, that his Predeceſſor *Putta*, ſome time before driven from that See, was yet living.

(*a*) *Annal.* Wigorn. *Ang. Sac. Par.* I. *pag.* 469.

As for *Wilfrid*, it is very probable, that notwithſtanding what is ſaid to the contrary by *Baronius*, he was a Priſoner in *England* at the time of this Council; and it is very evident, that the *South-Saxons* were yet unconverted; ſo that upon the whole Matter it appears, that the *Engliſh* Biſhops who aſſembled in this Council, including *Theodore* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, could not exceed the number of nine or ten at the moſt; and for the *Britiſh* or *Scotch* Biſhops, there is no reaſon to believe that they were preſent, or ſo much as ſummoned to it; but on the contrary, that it was made up of the Clergy of the Dominions of thoſe Princes, whoſe Names are inſerted in the Preamble thereof; and if the Name of the King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* be omitted, it is probable it was becauſe he was at this time a Tributary to the King of the *Northumbrians*.

Bede, by his way of ſpeaking of this Aſſembly, gives ſome reaſon to think, that the Biſhops were aſſiſted therein by ſome of the Lower Clergy, but does not give us light enough to determine who they were, or what Intereſt they had in this Affair. But whatever the Men were by whom this Council was conducted, the reſult thereof carries great appearance of Wiſdom and Judgment.

It is not unlikely, that the firſt thought of it was owing to the Controverſy of the Age: But this Aſſembly carried it a great deal further, and took this opportunity not only to condemn the Hereſy of the *Monothelites*, but to eſtabliſh a laſting Standard, both for the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the *Engliſh* Church.

SECT.

SECT. III. The Council being aſſembled, after Sermon *Theodore* gave a ſhort Account of the Chriſtian Faith, as it was delivered by Chriſt to his Apoſtles, ſummed up in the Apoſtolick Creed, and explained and confirmed by the Fathers and General Councils. The Biſhops having perſonally declared their Conſent and Agreement to theſe Doctrines, proceeded to make a particular Confeſſion of their Faith, with relation to the Doctrines which had been oppoſed by the *Neſtorians*, *Eutychians*, and *Monothelites*; and having declared, they unanimouſly agreed in the received and Catholick Doctrine of the Trinity, they took particular care to declare their Agreement with the whole Catholick Church, in receiving the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the five firſt General Councils (*a*). *Anno* 680.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 17.

That of *Nice*, againſt the *Arrians*; the firſt of *Conſtantinople* againſt *Macedonius* and *Eudoxius*; the Council of *Epheſus* againſt the *Neſtorians*; that of *Chalcedon* againſt *Eutyches* and *Neſtorius*; the ſecond of *Conſtantinople* againſt *Theodore*, and *Theodoret*, and the Epiſtles of *Ibas*; receiving what thoſe Councils received, and rejecting what they rejected (*b*); and leaſt theſe Decrees ſhould be thought too general, or ſubject to evaſion, to theſe they added, the reception of a Council held in *Rome*, under Pope *Martin*, in the Year 649, called on purpoſe to give a ſtop to the Hereſy of the *Monothelites* (*c*).

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

Here we have the *Engliſh* Church, hitherto unſettled, brought to an eſtabliſhment on the common foundation of the univerſal Church, the Doctrine of Chriſt explained by the five firſt General Councils.

SECT. IV. This was the Method uſed by *Manſuetus*, Archbiſhop of *Milan* (*d*), the Year preceding; and upon the occaſion of the ſame Hereſy, by *Martin*, Biſhop of *Rome*; and indeed the common Method of all the preceding Councils, to maintain the Unity of the Church, by declaring their Conſent and Agreement in the Doctrine of the firſt Ages. *Anno* 680.

(*d*) *Concil. Tom.* 6. *Ed.* Lab. *Col.*

Amongſt thoſe who were preſent at, and approved this Council, was *John* (*e*), Precentor of St. *Peter*'s, and Abbot of St. *Martin*'s in *Rome*. From hence the Learned *Baronius* (*f*) concludes, that this *John* was ſent by Pope *Agatho*, to ſummon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to his Synod at *Rome*; and that great Prelate ſeems to pleaſe him-

(*e*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 18.

(*f*) Baron. *Annal An.* 680.

himſelf with this concluſion. Yet, after all, it appears, that the Precentor did not come over by the appointment of the Biſhop of *Rome*, but on the inſtance and ſolicitation of *Biſcop*, termed *Benedictus*, the Founder of the Abby on the North ſide of the River *Wire* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham* (*a*).

(*a*) Bedæ *Vit. Abbat.* Wiremouth. *Lib.* 1. *p.* 225.

Now the Site of this Abby was firſt granted to *Benedictus*, by *Ecgfride* King of the *Northern Engliſh*, in the Year of our Lord 674, the ſecond of the Indiction, and fourth of King *Ecgfride* (*b*), and in the compaſs of two Years after was finiſhed: Preſently after *Benedictus* went to *Rome*, where upon his earneſt ſollicitation of *Agatho*, he obtained his leave to carry over with him the Precentor of St. *Peter*'s, to inſtruct his Monks in the Art of Singing (*c*); and particularly to acquaint them with the way of performing the Feſtival Services throughout the Year, according to the manner of St. *Peter*'s in *Rome* (*d*).

(*b*) *Ejuſdem, pag.* 224.

(*c*) *Ejuſdem pag.* 225.

(*d*) Ibid.

The Precentor being thus prevail'd upon to make a Journey to *Britain*, Pope *Agatho* obliged him to inquire into the ſtate of the new *Engliſh* Church; and at his return to give him an account thereof (*e*); and that he might judge the better whether the *Engliſh* Church, ſettled by *Theodore* a *Greek*, was free from the Hereſy, which for above forty Years paſt had prevail'd amongſt the *Greeks*, he gave him a Copy of the Patriarchal Council held at *Rome* under Pope *Martin* (*f*), which, at his arrival in *Britain*, *Benedict* cauſed to be tranſcribed and lodged in his Monaſtery.

(*e*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 18.

(*f*) Ibid.

The Precentor being come into *Britain*, ſpent a great deal of time in the Monaſtery of *Wiremouth*, both in teaching Muſick, pricking out of Services, and directing the Quire how to perform them (*g*): And ſuch was the reputation of his Skill, that the Maſters of Muſick from all the other Monaſteries of the *North* came to hear him; and not only ſo, but prevailed upon him to ſet up Schools, for teaching, in other places of that Kingdom (*h*).

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Ibid.

And when one conſiders what time undertakings of this kind neceſſarily require, and that *Bede*, both in his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, and in the Hiſtory of the Lives of the Abbots of *Wiremouth*; in both which the coming of *John* is related, makes no mention of the Errand *Baronius*

nius has thought fit to charge him with, one ſees great reaſon to think that there is not the leaſt ground for the aſſertion of that great Prelate; but, on the contrary, that the Precentor came over before the Emperor had ſent his Command to Pope *Agatho*'s Predeceſſor, to ſummon the Biſhops of his Patriarchate to the General Council.

SECT. V. *Theodore* having brought the Council of *Hatfield* to ſuch iſſue as he hoped for, the Decrees were drawn into Writing, and ſigned by the Hands of the Biſhops: A Copy thereof was given to *John*, Abbot of St. *Martin*'s in *Rome*, and Precentor of St. *Peter*'s, to carry with him to *Rome* (*a*). But we have a very different Account of this Council, from the pretended Charter of Pope *Agatho*; for the Monkiſh Writers, who never forget themſelves, or the Intereſt of their own Orders, and have no Intereſts ſo near their Hearts, as thoſe of their own Inſtitutions, are contented to leave the Integrity of *Baronius*, and even the Grandeur of *Rome*, to ſhift for it ſelf, rather than leſſen the Privileges of their own Orders; and therefore give an Account of this Council very different from all other Writers upon this Subject; for they aſſure us, that in the Year 675 *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, ſent *Wilfrid*, Biſhop of *York*, to *Rome*, to obtain a confirmation of the Privileges that Prince and his Brother *Wulfere*, late King of the *Mercians*, had granted to the Monaſtery of *Medeſhamſted*, now *Peterborough* (*b*), which being confirmed by *Agatho*, then Pope, that Prelate did, in the ſame Bull, require, that a Council ſhould be called of the *Engliſh* Biſhops; and that in obedience to this Bull, this Council of *Hatfield* was convened by *Theodore*.

Anno 680.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 18.

(*b*) *Chron Saxon. An.* 675.

And that their Story might be all of a piece, they further tell us, that the deſign of that Council was no other, than to have a publick recognition of the Privileges granted to this Foundation; and the Inſtrument to which we are indebted for this Account, is publiſhed in the Collections of *Spelman* (*c*), and *Labbe* (*d*), and has a place in the Noble Monument of the *Saxon* Antiquities, the *Saxon* Chronicle; yet, after all, the Marks of impoſture lie ſo open, that *Monſieur du Pin* (*e*) makes no difficulty to affirm this Charter of much later date, than this preſent Age, and made by ſome Monk of that Houſe ſome Ages after: And there is great reaſon to

(*c*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* I. *pag.*

(*d*) *Concil Tom.* 6. *Ed.* Lab. *Col.* 576.

(*e*) *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent.* 7. *pag.* 37.

think, that if the Charter to the ſame Religious Houſe, ſaid to be granted by *Wulfere*, King of the *Mercians*, and to be confirmed by *Vitalian*, Biſhop of *Rome*, was looked into, it might poſſibly deſerve no better a Cenſure, notwithſtanding the Honour it has had in being tranſmitted to Poſterity.

For whereas that Charter bears date, in the Year 664, and pretends to exempt that Monaſtery from the ordinary Juriſdiction, and ſubject it only to the Biſhop of *Rome* (*a*), it is very evident that *Jarumman*, at this time Biſhop of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, was himſelf a *Scotchman*, and had received his Conſecration, and his whole Dioceſs its Chriſtianity from the Biſhops and Clergy under the *Scotiſh* Eſtabliſhment; and that thoſe of that Communion, held no Communion, at this time, with the Biſhops of *Rome*, or with the *Engliſh* Churches of the *Romiſh* Eſtabliſhment.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. pag.* 36.

And it ſeems very unlikely, that *Wulfere* ſhould ſubject a Monaſtery to a Church with which he himſelf held no Communion, and to a Power not yet received into his Dominions; beſides, amongſt the Subſcribers to this Charter, are *Deus dedit* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Wini* Biſhop of *London*; whereas *Bede* ſaith, that *Wini* was not Biſhop of *Wincheſter* till after the Death of *Deus dedit* (*b*); and the Writer of his Life ſaith, that *Wini* was made Biſhop of *London* in the Year 666 (*c*), which was two Years after the date of this Charter.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 28.

(*c*) Wharton *de Epiſc. Lond. p.* 15.

And ſuch are the common Misfortunes of the Monkiſh Charters, that one who looks well into them, will ſee reaſon to eſteem them much better fitted to reproach the Integrity, and expoſe the Ignorance of the Religious, than to ſerve the purpoſes they were intended for. But to return.

Anno 680. SECT. VI. Through the whole tranſactions of this Council, we hear nothing of *Wilfrid*, Biſhop of *York*; nor of the Sentence paſſed in his favour at *Rome*; but, on the contrary, if his caſe was ever under conſideration, it was rather to confirm, than mitigate the Sentence, the King of the *Northumbrians* had paſſed upon him; for it ſeems probable, that a new ſubdiviſion of his Dioceſs was agreed upon at this Council; at leaſt, it appears that either this Year, or the Year following, the Northern part of his Dioceſs, the See whereof was in the

the Iſland of *Lindisfarne*, was divided into two, and a new Biſhoprick erected, at a place now called *Hexſham* in *Northumberland*, by the name of the Biſhoprick of *Hagulſtad*; and as if they intended to give an edge to the Mortification of *Wilfrid*, the Abby which he had built at *Hagulſtad*, was made the Seat of the new Biſhop; beſides which, *Ecgfride*, about this time, erected another Biſhoprick; the Dioceſs containing that part of *Britain* which he had gained from the *Picts*; ſo that whatever *Wilfrid* loſt, the Church gained, there being no leſs, at this time, than four Biſhopricks in the compaſs of the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians*, which had been but one Dioceſs under *Wilfrid*; for *Boſa* was Biſhop of *York*, *Eata* of *Lindisfarne*, *Trumbert* of *Hagulſtad*, and *Trumwin* of the more Northerly Parts, late ſubject to the *Picts* (*a*).

(*a*) Bed. Eccl. Hiſt. Lib. 4. cap. 12.

And about the time of this Council of *Hatfield*, or the Year preceding, upon the acceſſion of *Ethelred* to the Crown of that Kingdom, *Mercia*, hitherto but one Biſhoprick, is ſaid to be divided into five; and to that of *Lichfield* were added *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, *Leiceſter*, and *Sydnaceſter* (*b*).

(*b*) *Angliæ Sac. Part* I. *pag.* 427.

SECT. VII. But not only that Author in particular, whoſe Authority is vouched for what is ſaid of the Biſhoprick of *Leiceſter*, is charged with a Miſtake therein (*c*), but the ſame Learned and Worthy Author, who charges him therewith, is pleaſed to ſay, that it is a great Miſtake in our Hiſtorians, in ſaying, that a Biſhop's See was founded at *Leiceſter*, *whereas*, ſaith he, *in truth it was at* Weſtcheſter, *and not at* Leiceſter, *that the new Dioceſs was erected* (*d*): But that Learned Writer has obſerved, and that very truly, that this great Miſtake, as he ſtiles it, *has been unanimouſly ſwallowed by all our Church Hiſtorians* (*e*). This Charge is chiefly founded on the ancient Names of the places under debate.

(*c*) *Engliſh Hiſt. Library, Part* II. *p.* 39.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

For that, as that Learned Writer truly obſerves, the ſtile of *Totta* was *Epiſcopus Legeceſtriæ*, and that *Legerceſtria* is the old Name of *Leiceſter*, as *Legeceſtria* is of *Cheſter* (*f*); but I muſt crave leave to add, that *Legoraceaſter*, and *Leogereceaſter*, and *Leogeteſter*, are alſo ancient *Saxon* Names of *Leiceſter* (*g*); that Mr. *Wharton* obſerves, from the Regiſters of *Canterbury*, that *Rethunus*, Biſhop of the Dioceſs, whoſe See is under debate, in

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Gibſon *Locorum. Explicat. p.* 34.

in his Profeſſion made to *Wilfrid*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſtiles himſelf *Legoracenſis Epiſcopus* (*a*); the like he obſerves of *Ceolred*, Biſhop of the ſame See; and from theſe Authorities, ſaith of thoſe two Biſhops, that they affirm themſelves choſen Biſhops of the City of *Leiceſter* (*b*): And the Form of their Profeſſions, yet extant in the *Cotton* Library, (*c*) agrees with his Account: And after the *Norman* Conqueſt, the ſtile of *Remigius* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in his new Profeſſion made to *Lanfranc* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, after the Depoſition of *Stigand*, was, *Remigius*, Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, *Leiceſter*, and *Lincoln*; and yet *Peter* was at this time Biſhop of *Cheſter*.

(*a*) *Collect. Mſs. Fol. notat. L. pag.* 6.

Uterque ſe ad Legoracenſis civitatis ſedem electum dicit.
(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Cotton. *Cleopatra. E.* 1.

Remigius Dorcacenſis, & Legoracenſis, & Lincolniæ Provinciæ, cæterarumque Provinciarum quibus anteceſſores mei præfuerunt Antiſtes.

And indeed, the very reaſon upon which that Prelate removed the See of *Lichfield* to the City of *Cheſter*, in purſuance of the Decree of the Council held in *London*, in the Year 1070 was, becauſe *Cheſter* was then the greateſt City within the Dioceſs of *Lichfield*.

Beſides, it is agreed upon all hands, that the See under debate was within the Kingdom of *Mercia*. But *Higden*, who was a Monk of *Cheſter*, and who fixes the ſubdiviſion of *Mercia* into Biſhopricks, in the Year 679 (*d*), ſaith, that *Cheſter*, or *Legeceſter*, was poſſeſſed by the *Britons* till the Year 797, when it was won from them by *Ecgbert*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and united to his Kingdom. And this was above an hundred Years after the founding the Biſhoprick under debate.

(*d*) Polychr. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 241.

If there be truth in this Account of *Higden*, probably the Name of *Legeceſter* was not given to *Cheſter*, till after the founding of the Biſhoprick; for it is certain, that *Caerlegion* was the *Britiſh* Name, and it is likely it did not change its Name, till it changed Maſters, and came to the hands of the *Engliſh*; nor is *Higden* ſingular in his Opinion; but as in the firſt of theſe Particulars he follows *H. Huntington*, ſo in the later he follows *Malmſbury*, who ſpeaks ſtill more fully to the Matter under debate, and ſaith, that the See of the Biſhoprick under debate, was founded at the City of *Legeceſter*, on the River of *Leire*; and notwithſtanding what that Reverend and Learned Writer is pleaſed to ſay of *Legeceſtria*'s being the ancient Name of *Cheſter*, and *Legerceſtria* of *Leiceſter*, it is very evident, that the ſame place

place which *Bede* (*a*) calls *Legaceſtir*, and *Caerlegion*, and now *Cheſter* is by the *Saxon* Chronicle called *Legercieſtre* (*b*), for ſo that Writer calls the place where both himſelf, and *Bede*, and our Hiſtorians generally agree, ſo great a ſlaughter was made of the *Britiſh* Clergy.

(a) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

(b) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 607. *pag.* 25.

This confuſion of Names ſhews how little ſtreſs is to be laid upon Arguments of this kind, and more eſpecially when the Criticiſm lies croſs to a Matter of Fact, that is notorious and generally agreed upon: And this ſeems to be the caſe of the Matter in debate; for it is agreed on all hands, that the Biſhoprick, whoſe Seat we are now inquiring after, was united to that of *Sydnaceſter*, and both of them to *Dorcheſter*; and that from the time of that Union, to the preſent Age, *Leiceſter* ever has been within the Biſhoprick, the Seat whereof was then at *Dorcheſter*, and now at *Lincoln*; but, on the contray, the City and County of *Cheſter*, neither are, nor ever were within the Dioceſs of the Biſhops of *Dorcheſter* or *Lincoln*, but within the Dioceſs of *Lichfield*, till the new Biſhoprick of *Cheſter* was erected under the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth.

Upon the whole Matter, it appears ſo much eaſier to imagine, that Writers may be miſtaken in propriety of Names, or the Orthography and true Writing thereof, than in ſuch a publick and notorious Matter of Fact, as the Union of the 'foreſaid Biſhopricks, that it ſeems reaſonable to leave the credit of our Hiſtorians unqueſtioned, in what they ſay of an Epiſcopal See founded at *Leiceſter*, and that ancient City quiet and undiſturb'd in the Honour they have aſcribed to it.

SECT. VIII. But whatever ground there may be to doubt what our Hiſtorians ſay, of a Biſhoprick erected at *Leiceſter*, there is no ground to doubt of that erected at *Seolſey*, (and ſince removed to *Chicheſter*,) about this time, or the Year following (*c*); and *Wilfrid* has the Honour to have the firſt place in the Succeſſions of the Biſhops thereof; and which is a great deal more, he had the comfort and ſatisfaction of being a great Inſtrument of God's Glory in the converſion of the People amongſt whom it was founded; the manner and circumſtances whereof will deſerve to be conſidered.

Anno 681.

(c) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 22. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 62.

After *Wilfrid* had undergone the Hardſhips of a long Impriſonment, he was at laſt ſet at liberty by King *Ecgfride* (*a*), ſome time the preceding Year: After his Releaſe he went into the Kingdom of *Mercia*, where he was entertained, for ſome time, by *Berthwald*, Nephew to the King thereof; but he remained quiet there but a little while; for the fear of diſpleaſing *Ecgfride* obliged that Prince to command *Wilfrid* to leave his Country; from whence he went to the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, but the ſame reaſon which forced him thither, made his ſtay there unſafe, and drove him to a Reſolution that ſeems to have had the laſt place in his Thoughts and Wiſhes; in ſhort, the Anger of King *Ecgfride* ſo purſued that Prelate, that he was not ſuffered to be at quiet any where elſe, but was forced to take Sanctuary in a Pagan Kingdom, that of the *South-Saxons* comprehending the Counties of *Suſſex*, and *Surry* (*b*); this People had hitherto remained in the ſaddeſt and moſt deplorable ſtate of Ignorance and Idolatry; and though above fourſcore Years had paſſed ſince the coming of *Auſtin*, yet it does not appear, that any attempt had ever been made towards their Converſion, till about this time.

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 40. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 72.

(*b*) Ibid.

And now it ſeems intirely owing to the ſpecial Providence of God, rather than to the Piety and Zeal of Men; for though *Wilfrid* had a ſhare in it, yet the circumſtances of the Story, whilſt they leave him the ſatisfaction, rob him of the Glory of their Converſion; and ſeem to make his Caſe ſo far like that of the Prophet *Jonah*, who preached Repentance to the *Ninevites* againſt his Will.

But God, who never wants Inſtruments to do his own Work, nor ways to indear the Sufferings he thinks fit to lay upon Men, ſerved himſelf on the Circumſtances that drew ſo much trouble on *Wilfrid*, and over-paid his Sufferings, by making uſe of them to ſerve the purpoſes of his own Glory; for upon *Wilfrid*'s firſt Baniſhment by *Ecgfride*, as he was attempting to Sail to *France*, in order to go to *Rome*, the Ship was forced by contrary Winds upon the Coaſt of *Frieſland*, where Landing, by the favour of *Aldgiſlus*, King of the *Friſians*, he ſo ſucceſsfully preached the Goſpel, that during the Winter which he ſtaid there, he converted a great part of that Kingdom to the Chriſtian Faith (*c*).

(*c*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 13.

SECT.

SECT. IX. Thus too did God make uſe of his Baniſhment in the Converſion of the *South-Saxons* about this time, but with this difference, that there was more of God, and leſs of *Wilfrid* in their Converſion; for whereas the *Friſians* ſeem to have had no knowledge of the Chriſtian Faith, before the coming of *Wilfrid*: The caſe of the *South-Saxons* was far otherwiſe; for it appears, that ſome *Scotch* Chriſtians from *Ireland*, who, according to the prevailing Humour of this Age, had left their Country to find a retiring place, had ſettled themſelves in this Country, and had a ſmall Monaſtery therein (*a*); beſides *Ethelwalch*, who was at that time King of that People, though he had been bred a Pagan, yet had married *Ebba*, a Chriſtian Princeſs (*b*), and during the Reign of *Wulfere*, King of the *Mercians*, had himſelf embraced the Chriſtian Religion, and been baptized (*c*). *Annis* 682. 683.

(*a*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 13.
(*b*) Ibid.
(*c*) Ibid.

Thus was the way prepared for the Converſion of *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, when *Wilfrid* came to the Court of *Ethelwalch*, that Prince not only received him with open Arms, but gave him all poſſible encouragement in diſcharging the Offices of his Holy Function; and if there was any defect in the Zeal of that Prince, it lay in the want of a due Temperament, it being too fierce to conſiſt with the gentleneſs of the Goſpel Spirit; for he not only encouraged, but compelled ſome of his People to receive the Chriſtian Faith (*d*).

(*d*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 40. XV *Scriptor. pag.* 72.

But from whenceſoever the reaſon proceeded, *Wilfrid* had the honour to baptize great numbers of that People, and to ſettle a Chriſtian Church amongſt them, and by the Bleſſings of God upon his Labours, was made a great Inſtrument of God's Glory; and, by the Intereſt he had in the King, he obtained Ground for the building and endowment of a Cathedral (*e*); and at his Inſtance, the King founded a Biſhoprick, and planted the See thereof in his own Capital City at *Seolſey*; and *Wilfrid* has the firſt place in the Succeſſions of the Biſhops of *Chicheſter*, to which place this Biſhoprick was remov'd, after *Seolſey*, a Village in the County of *Suſſex*, had had the honour of it for about four hundred Years, but with ſome intermiſſion; for ſome Years after the recalling of *Wilfrid*, this People had not a Biſhop of their own, but were under the care of the Biſhops of the *Weſt-Saxons* (*f*).

(*e*) Ibid.
(*f*) Bedæ, *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *c.* 15.

And

Annis 684. 685. 686. And it is not unlikely, that the Vanity and Ambition of *Wilfrid* led the way to the Miſchiefs which, for want of a Biſhop to reſide amongſt the new Converts, muſt neceſſarily fall upon the Church he had the honour to plant; for during his ſtay in this Country, *Cedwal*, a Prince of the *Weſt-Saxons*, being driven from his Country, retired to the *South-Saxons*, this Kingdom being Mountainous, and, by reaſon of the vaſt Woods, in great meaſure impaſſible, yet lying contiguous to his own Country, was the fitteſt Sanctuary for that Prince. During his ſtay here he fell into great Friendſhip with *Wilfrid*; and therefore being afterwards reſtored to his Country, and advanced to the Throne of the *Weſt-Saxons*, he invited *Wilfrid* to his Kingdom: *Wilfrid* accepted the Invitation, and going to the Court of King *Cedwal*, had all the Marks of Confidence and Honour that Prince could confer upon him; and, as Miniſter of State (*a*), managed for ſome time the Affairs of that Kingdom, whilſt he retained his relation to the Church he had founded; and it is not unlikely that this Example led the way to ſome of the ſucceeding Biſhops of the *Weſt-Saxons*, in extending their care to the *South-Saxons*.

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfridi. *cap.* 41. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 73.

Anno 687. SECT. X. The Chriſtian Religion being now generally planted amongſt the *Engliſh*, and Churches eſtabliſhed, every thing remained quiet, whilſt *Wilfrid* employed his time betwixt the *South* and *Weſt-Saxons*; and thus things continued for about five or ſix Years; but about this time *Ecgfride*, King of the *Northumbrians*, was killed in a Battel he fought againſt the *Picts*, and *Alfred*, his Brother, ſucceeded him in that Kingdom. *Wilfrid*, who had the taſte of his ancient Splendor yet freſh upon his Palate, finding by the experience of ſix or ſeven Years, how little the Authority of the Biſhops of *Rome* was regarded in *England*, reſolves to betake himſelf to new Meaſures.

And the acceſſion of *Alfred* to the Crown, gave new Life and Spirit to the hopes of *Wilfrid*; and the Services he had done to God and his Church, in the ſettlement of the Chriſtian Religion amongſt the *South-Saxons*, gained him ſo much eſteem in the Opinion of Archbiſhop *Theodore* (*b*), that about this time they were reconciled, and *Wilfrid* was received into the Friendſhip of that Prelate (*c*).

(*b*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 42. XV *Scriptor. pag.* 73.
(*c*) Ibid.

Upon

Upon this Reconciliation, *Theodore* wrote a Letter to *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, in his Favour; and in another to *Alfred*, King of the *Northumbrians*, he ſo effectually recommended him to that Prince, that the ſecond Year of his Reign, *Wilfrid* was recalled by King *Alfred*, and reſtored by him to his Biſhoprick, and *Cuthbert*, the Favourite Prelate of that Age, dying about this time, the Intereſt of *Wilfrid* bore down all the oppoſition of *Boſa* Biſhop of *York*, and *John* Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, and they were both driven from their Biſhopricks; and the whole Kingdom of the *Northern Engliſh* did once again become the Dioceſs of *Wilfrid*; in which ſtation he continued for about five Years.

SECT. XI. But ſuch was the Spirit of this Prelate, that he could not ſubmit to the Canons which had been made under *Theodore*, during the late Controverſie (*d*), nor forbear to ſhew his reſentment of the Wrong he had ſuſtained by having the Abby of *Hagulſtad*, which he had built, wreſted from him, and converted into an Epiſcopal See (*e*); and being ſowered with his former Sufferings he ſoon became very uneaſie, and this occaſioned a Miſunderſtanding betwixt King *Alfred* and this Prelate (*f*), which in a little time grew to an open Breach, and ſo provoked the King, that he forced *Wilfrid* to quit his Biſhoprick, and fly for his Security to the Kingdom of *Mercia*; and reſtored *Boſa* to the Biſhoprick of *York*, and *John* to that of *Hagulſtad* (g), about the Year 691. *Anno* 691.

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 44. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 75

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ibid.

Notwithſtanding this ill treatment at home, *Wilfrid* was well received by *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Sexulphus* dying about this time Biſhop of *Lichfield*, the Biſhopricks of *Lichfield* and *Leiceſter*, which for ſome time had been under his Care, were again divided, and *Hedda* made Biſhop of *Lichfield*, and *Wilfrid* of *Leiceſter* (*h*).

(*h*) *Anglia Sacra. Pars* I. *P.* 427.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* died, in the Year 690, after he had lived to Fourſcore and eight; and filled the Chair of *Canterbury* two and twenty Years. In this poſture, for the moſt part, continued the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church, till the end of this Century.

CHAP. VIII.

Ab Anno 691 ad Annum 700.

SECT. I. *THE ſtate of the Church at the Death of* Theodore. *Pariſhes ſaid to begin. Right of Patronage ſaid to begin.*

II. *The Church begins to incorporate with the State. Laws made for the ſupport of the Clergy: The Immunities allowed them.*

III. *The importance of the Laws of* Ina. *His Example followed in other Kingdoms.*

IV. *A general Proviſion for the Clergy.*

V. Engliſh *attempt to bring the* Britiſh *and* Scotch *to the Uſages of their Church.* Aldhelmus *appointed by a Synod to write on that Subject: Brings over many of the* Britons. *The Biſhoprick of* Sherburn *erected.* Aldhelmus *made Biſhop thereof.*

VI. *Reflections on the Seventh Century: The Revolutions, Opinions, Uſages, and Changes thereof. The ſtate of the Monaſticks and Secular Canons. The eſteem Collegiate Societies were in.*

VII. *The Reaſons which gave ſuch eſteem to the Monaſtick Life.*

VIII. *Ill effects produced by the Opinion of the Monaſtick Life. Monaſteries grew looſe and debauched. Abbots and Abbeſſes married. The Military Men Abbots.*

IX. *The Preſent ſtate of Religion and Diſcipline. The Intereſt the Biſhops of* Rome *had in* England. *The ſenſe the Church had of his Authority.*

Annis 691. 692. SECT. I. AFter the Death of *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the See continued void till the firſt of *July* 692 (*a*), when *Brightwald* an *Engliſhman* was choſe to ſucceed him, (*b*) but not conſecrated till the later end of *June* the Year following. *Brightwald* had been Abbot of *Raculf* in *Kent*, and was, as *Bede* ſaith, a Man well skilled in the Holy Scriptures, and acquainted with all Affairs of the Church (*c*), and

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 9.
(*b*) Ibid.
(*c*) Ibid.

and though a Truſt of that great and important nature never wants Terror and Affrightment but where it is not underſtood or conſidered as it ſhould be; yet it muſt be owned an unſpeakable comfort and advantage to a Succeſſor to have a way opened to the hopes of his Succeſs, by the Wiſdom and Diligence of a Predeceſſor. This was the Caſe of *Brightwald*.

By the Addreſs and good Conduct of *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the *Engliſh* Churches were brought to ſome Conſiſtency and Union; and the Character and Honour of Metropolitan was fixed on the Biſhops and See of *Canterbury*; and ſo far as the different Intereſts of the ſeveral Kingdoms would permit, the Metropolitical Power eſtabliſhed; great and unweildy Dioceſſes were divided, and new Epiſcopal Sees ſet up in proper places: And to perfect the Eſtabliſhment he had ſo wiſely begun, if we may rely on the Authority of the *Codex Cantuarenſis*, quoted by Mr. *Wheelock* in his Notes upon *Bede*, towards the later end of his Life, *Theodore* applied himſelf with great Zeal and Vigour to excite the Devotion and Charity of well diſpoſed People to build Churches in Towns and Villages; and in order thereunto begun the diſtinction and ſettlement of Pariſhes (*a*), and, as in the foreſaid Manuſcript, obtain'd a Grant from the reſpective Kings of *England*, that the Right of Patronage ſhould be veſted in thoſe by whoſe Charity and Munificence Churches were built (*b*), and ſettled a Miniſtry anſwerable to theſe new Inſtitutions he had happily begun.

(*a*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Ed. Wheelock *pag.* 399.

(*b*) Ibid.

SECT. II. And by the Bleſſing of God upon this wiſe and excellent Eſtabliſhment, Chriſtianity was generally received, and became the National Religion of the *Engliſh*; and towards the end of this Century the Church begun to incorporate with the State; and the Laws of Princes took Religion under their Protection and Care, and made proviſion for the Support and Honour of the Clergy; and the Reverence due to Churches and Holy Things. *Anno* 693.

The firſt Inſtance we have of this kind is from the Laws of *Ina*, a King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, but it is ſo hard to fix the Time when theſe Laws were made, that our Hiſtorians are not agreed of the exact Time of that Princes Reign; the Learned Perſon, by whom the Laws of our *Saxon* Kings are collected and publiſhed, fixes the

the acceſſion of *Ina* to the Crown in the Year 712, and ends his Reign in the Year 727. The Author of the *Faſti* begins his Reign in the Year 698. But without intermedling in their Diſpute, what is plain ſeems Authority enough to fix theſe his Laws in the later end of this, or the begining of the next Century.

For it is agreed on all hands, that *Ina* was Succeſſor to *Cedwalla*, and came to the Crown upon his going to *Rome*. Now *Bede* (*a*) ſaith, *Cedwalla* went to *Rome*, and there died, in the Year 689; beſides, amongſt the Perſons who adviſed the forming and promulgation of theſe Laws were *Erkenwald* and *Hedda*, ſaid in the Preamble to the Laws, to be the Biſhops of *Ina*. There was an *Erkenwald* at this time Biſhop of *London*, who was alſo Abbot of *Chertſey* in *Surrey*, and had been the Founder of it; but unleſs this part of *Surrey* was within the Bounds of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom, or *Ina* had, by the terror of his Arms, forced the King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* to become his Tributary; it is hard to ſay, why *Erkenwald* ſhould be reckoned amongſt the *Weſt-Saxon* Biſhops; and much harder to ſay, who elſe ſhould be meant, if this was not the Perſon; now this Prelate died, as the Writers of his Story all agree, before the end of this Century, (*b*) at leaſt before the Year 710.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 7.

(*b*) H. Whart. *Hiſt. Epiſ.* London. *pag.* 17.

And if we may rely on the Authority of *Bede*, *Hedda* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who is doubtleſs the Perſon intended in the Preamble to *Ina*'s Laws, died about the Year 705 (*c*); ſo that the time of enacting and promulging theſe Laws ſeems capable of fixing no where elſe but in the later end of this, or, at furtheſt, in the beginning of the following Century.

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib* 5. *Cap.* 19.

Anno 693. SECT. III. The Laws of *Ina*, as they took particular care of the Perſons, and the ſupport of the Clergy, ſo of the general Intereſts of the Church and Religion, they are in all Ten (*d*). 1. The firſt directs, That the Clergy ſhould be careful to live up to the Canons of the Church. 2. The ſecond preſcribes, A Penalty for deferring the Baptiſm of Infants beyond thirty Days, and a much greater when they happen to die unbaptized. 3. The third directs, The obſervance of the Lord's-Day, and proportions the Puniſhment by the Circumſtances of the Offender. 4. The fourth requires, The payment of Tythes or Dues to the Church at the Feaſt of St. *Martin*.

(*d*) *Concil. Britan. Vol.* I. *pag.* 182.

And

And the tenth determines, By whom they ſhall be payable. The reſt for the moſt part reſpect the Privileges of Churches, the Clergy, and Religious.

The *Saxon* Words, which in the fourth Article are render'd Tythes, or the Dues, are, by the Learned Collector of the Councils, tranſlated *Primitiæ ſeminum*; and ſo as Mr. *Wheelock*, in his Epiſtle before that Work, obſerves, the ſame Words are generally tranſlated by Mr. *Lambard*, the learned Publiſher of the *Saxon* Laws; yet not only Mr. *Wheelock*, in the end of that Collection, but Mr. *Somner*, and the late *Saxon* Vocabulary, printed at *Oxford*, do all agree in rendring thoſe Words, by *Eccleſiæ cenſus*, the Tribute, or Dues of the Church: And which is more, *Bede*, who lived at the time when theſe Laws were made, not only ſpeaks of the Maintenance of the Clergy, under the Name of Tributes, but ſaith of the moſt Mountainous and ill-inhabited Villages of *England*, *Nec unus quidem à Tributis Antiſtiti reddendis eſſe poſſit immunis:* That no Village was excuſed from paying its Dues to the Biſhop (*a*): And if this doth not determine the nature of the Dues paid to the Clergy, it demonſtrates they were not limited to the firſt Fruits of Seeds, as improperly rendered: But if theſe Words be truly rendered, it is unconceivable what is meant by them.

(*a*) Bedæ *Epiſt. ad* Egbert. *pag.* 256.

For it is evident, that by the firſt Fruits of Seeds cannot be meant the Tythe of Wheat, Barley, or any other Corn; for our Hiſtorians are agreed in aſcribing the firſt Grant thereof, to the Reign of King *Ethelwulf*. So that on the whole Matter it ſeems reaſonable to conclude, that by the *Scyric Sceat*, or *Church Schot* here mentioned, was not any kind of *Prædial Tythe*, but a Charge upon Houſes, poſſibly not unlike that which was called the *Rome-Scot*, or *Peter-Pence*, or that which is in ſome Places known by the Name of *Waxſhot* to this Day, a certain Charge on Houſes.

And although theſe Laws were peculiar to the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, yet the 'foreſaid Account of *Bede* puts it paſt a doubt, that the like care was taken in the other Kingdoms: at leaſt, it appears, that this was the Caſe of the North of *England*, as by Councils held on that Subject, it appears to be of the Kingdom of *Kent*; wherein *Withred*, at this time King, with the

advice of the Clergy and Nobility, in the Council of *Becanceld*, about the Year 694 (*a*), and in another at *Berghamſted* (*b*), about the Year 697, compoſed a Body of Laws for the well-governing and ſecurity of the Church and Clergy.

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* I. *pag.* 189.
(*b*) *Concil. Britan. Vol.* I. *pag.* 194.

But though the Canons of thoſe Councils have been publiſhed in all the later Editions of the Councils, yet they have eſcaped the notice of *Bede*, though he lived and flouriſhed at this time; and indeed there are ſome things in them which have not the Air of this Age, and ſeem to be of a later growth.

SECT. IV. And though the care of the Affairs of Religion does not appear ſo early in the other Kingdoms, yet the Bodies of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, afterwards publiſhed by *Alvred*, *Ethelſtan*, and other *Engliſh* Kings, are enough to ſhew, that the other Kingdoms were not wanting in the care of Religion; for though theſe appear much later, yet it ſeems reaſonable to think, that thoſe Bodies of Laws were the work of Time, and not the product of ſingle Councils, or particular Men: And there is no doubt to be made, but that the Clergy had every where a juſt portion of the publick Care; and that as their Perſons were exempted from the perſonal Services other Men were obliged to, ſo their Eſtates were excuſed from many of thoſe Charges and Services all other Lands were ſubject to.

And yet the Charter of King *Ina*, ſaid to be granted in the Year 705, and atteſted by *Daniel*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Aldhelm*, Biſhop of *Sherborn* (*c*), by which their Eſtates are excuſed from all Secular Services and Payments, has ſo much of the Spirit and turn of the later ſpurious Charters, that its Original and Authority are not free from Suſpicion.

(*c*) W. Malmſ. *de Pontif.* XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 356.

Anno 699. SECT. V. This Century ended as it begun, in the Controverſy about *Eaſter*; for tho' the *Engliſh* Churches had received the new Cycle, yet the *Scots* of *Ireland*, the *Picts*, and the *Britons*, did ſtill adhere to their old Calculation; and therefore towards the later end of this Century, this Controverſy was revived again, and the Zeal and the Pens of the *Engliſh* Clergy were employed upon this Subject. The Abbot of *Hy*, *Adamnanus*, being ſent by his Countrymen upon ſome buſineſs, to the Court of King *Alfred*, King of the *Northumbrians*, was made a Con-

Convert to the Catholick *Eaſter*, (*a*) and went to *Ireland* to preach it up to his Countrymen (*b*).

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 16.
(*b*) Ibid.

As for the *Britons*, thoſe who inhabited *Wales* ſeem to have had little or no Converſation with the *Engliſh*, from the coming of *Auſtin* till this time; and for ſuch of the *Britons* as inhabited *Cornwal*, though they had been long Tributaries to the King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, yet they ſo ſteadily adhered to the ancient Rites of the *Britiſh* Church, that except that one Inſtance which *Bede* gives of two *Britiſh* Biſhops, who joined with *Wini*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in the Conſecration of *Ceada*, Biſhop of the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, about the Year 664. (*c*) I do not remember any one Inſtance, of any one act of Communion betwixt the *Britiſh* and *Engliſh*; and when it ſhall be conſidered, that *Ceada* was an *Iriſh Scot*, and had been bred under the Clergy from *Ireland*, and received his Prieſthood from *Aidan*, Biſhop of *Northumberland*; and that there had been a conſtant Communion betwixt the *Britons* and *Iriſh*, it ſeems poſſible to account for the 'foreſaid Act of Communion, without ſuppoſing any better Underſtandings betwixt the *Britons* and *Engliſh*.

(*c*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 28.

But however that Matter ſtands, it appears about the latter end of this Century, *Aldhelmus*, then Abbot of *Malmsbury*, was, by a Synod of the *Weſt-Saxon* Church, appointed to write againſt them; and he obeyed the Order of the Synod, and was ſo ſucceſsful in the Management of this Controverſy, that, as *Bede* ſaith, (*d*) many of the *Britons*, ſubject to the Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*, were, upon the reading of that Diſcourſe, brought over to the Catholick *Eaſter*: And ſuch eſteem did his Performances and Services meet with, that when the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons* was divided in the beginning of the next Century, *Aldhelmus* was made the firſt Biſhop of *Sherborn*, about the Year 705, and all the more Weſterly parts of that Kingdom, containing the Counties of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Wiltſhire*, *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwal*, were laid into that Dioceſs: And thus the *Britons*, inhabiting *Cornwal*, were put under his Care; and that Prelate has the firſt place in the Succeſſions of the Biſhops of *Salisbury*, to which place the See of *Sherborn* was removed under the *Norman* Government. In this poſture, for the moſt part, the Affairs of the Church of *England* con-

(*d*) Bed. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 19.

continued till the end of this Century; and therefore without asking Pardon, I might fairly cloſe it here.

Anno 699. SECT. VI. However, becauſe it may be of uſe to give thoſe things in one view, which the intermixture and variety of Story have neceſſarily preſented in broken and interrupted Proſpect; I ſhall cloſe this Century with ſome Reflections on the preſent State of the Church of *England*, and the particular Opinions and Uſages which the Age produced. Although the *Engliſh* Nation has great reaſon to bleſs the Memory of thoſe who were inſtrumental in bringing it to the knowledge of Chriſt, yet it muſt be confeſſed, that the Doctrine of this Age had its mixture and alloy, and wanted many degrees of its primitive brightneſs and Purity: Of which the Opinions of Celibacy and Monaſtick Inſtitutions are an Inſtance very extraordinary and ſurpriſing.

Monaſteries were at this time the only Nurſeries of Diſcipline, and the chief Schools of Learning; and therefore when a Biſhoprick was erected in this Age, a Monaſtery was uſually founded, as well for the Habitation as the ſupport of the Biſhop, and thoſe who were to attend upon the Offices of Religion in the Cathedral, and to preach the Goſpel to the adjacent Countries. Theſe Bodies were, properly ſpeaking, Colleges of Preſbyters, and ſuch as were in after Ages, diſtinguiſhed by the Name of Secular Canons, and were under no Vows of perpetual Celibacy; nor was this the Caſe only of thoſe who were ſettled in Cathedral Monaſteries, but thoſe known by the Name of Monks and Nuns, were allowed to marry when they ſaw fit. And this Liberty had been ſo eſtabliſhed by the Uſage of the *Engliſh*, that when *Theodore*, in his *Penitential*, thought fit to forbid Monks and Nuns to marry (*a*), he ſubjoins this Exception; *Tamen non deſtruamus illud quod conſuetudo eſt in hâc terrâ:* That he did not mean to deſtroy the Uſage of *England*.

(*a*) Theodori *Pœnitential. pag.* 7.

As for the Rule of St. *Benedict*, it was not known in *Britain*, till brought over by *Wilfrid*, Biſhop of *York*, towards the later end of this Century (*b*), and was not generally received till ſome Ages after his Death; yet in the Hiſtories of this Age, theſe Societies, as well thoſe which were nothing elſe but Bodies of Secular Prieſts and Canons, as the other more properly ſo called, paſs under

(*b*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 45. XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 76.

under the general Name of Monaſteries, and this frequently miſleads Men, who judge of theſe Foundations, by thoſe of later Ages; and from theſe Societies, for the moſt part Biſhops were choſen, and hither they retired, as occaſion ſerved, for Study and Devotion; and from hence the lower Orders of the Clergy were generally drawn.

And therefore it is no wonder if they were poſſeſſed with an eſteem of the places where they themſelves had been bred. Upon this ground the Clergy magnified the Perfections of the Collegiate State and way of living, till Men were run into an Error, and perſwaded their Salvation could be ſafe no where elſe.

And in terms ſo extravagant did ſome of the Monaſticks of this Age publiſh their Sentiments of ſuch Inſtitutions, that in the Collections aſcribed to *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the ſecond Canon, the Ceremony of putting on the habit of a Monk is called a ſecond Baptiſm, and ſaid to have the operation and effect of that Holy Rite, in waſhing away Sin (*a*); an aſſertion ſo diſhonourable to the Holy Inſtitution of our Lord, that Hereſy is too ſoft a Name for it; and that of Blaſphemy ſeems much better to fit it.

(*a*) *Secundum Baptiſma, omnia peccata dimittuntur ſicut in Baptiſmo.* Theodori *Capitula.* Concil. Tom. 6. Labb. Col. 1875.

SECT. VII. If all Mankind had been but one great effort of the Almighty Power and Succeſſion created, as the firſt Man was, and Men thus ſet free from the Obligations to Parents, to Government, and Societies; or God had, by direct appointment, given beginning to ſuch Inſtitutions, ſome Account might have been given of ſuch wild Opinions; but to eſtabliſh the Perfection of our preſent Being, and our future Hopes, in Inſtitutions that at the firſt view appear to croſs the Ends, the Tendance, and Notices of Nature, and yet have no Foundation in the Revealed Law, is a Speculation that at firſt ſight ſeems very unaccountable. *Anno 699.*

For that God ſhould interweave into our Natures a Principle that croſſes the Perfection thereof; that he ſhould make the defect thereof neceſſary to the preſervation of the Species, and propagate the Being by its Failings and Imperfections, is to make his Failings neceſſary to the very Being of Man, and found his Perfection on a Reaſon that muſt as neceſſarily deſtroy it;

and thus at once to reproach Human Nature, and the Wiſdom which gave beginning to it.

And yet however ſurpriſing and unacceptable theſe Notions may appear, whilſt we conſult our Reaſon, and attend to the Rule of Action which God has given us, if we carry our ſearches a little further, and look to the common Springs of human Action, the Wonder will abate; for it may be never any Opinion was better contrived, to flatter the Infirmities of human Nature. Here Diſappointment, want of Courage, and of Conduct, Levity, and an uneaſy Spirit may ſhelter themſelves under the pretences of Religion: Princes may conſecrate the difficulties of their own ill Conduct, and the married at once rid themſelves of their Croſſes, and all of them impreſs a value on their Faults and Failings, to which it may be they owe their uneaſineſs.

But whatever the Reaſons were which gave beginning to ſuch Inſtitutions, it is very evident, that this Age had peculiar Opinions of the Monaſtick Life, and the Effects thereof were as contrary, as the Opinions new and ſurpriſing; for a while Men were ſo dazled with the luſtre of this eaſy way to Perfection, that Women renounced their Husbands Beds, Children and Parents abandoned each other, and Princes left their Thrones to hide themſelves in Monaſteries; and ſo particularly were the *Engliſh* charmed with this new Perfection, that in the later end of this, and the beginning of the following Century, we have the Examples of ſo many *Engliſh* Kings, Queens, and Princes, who gave up themſelves to a Monaſtick Life, as are not to be paralleled in the utmoſt compaſs of the Hiſtories of other Nations.

Anno 699. SECT. VIII. But if one may be allowed to judge, this effect produced another of a contrary nature; for this gave ſuch reputation to Retirement, that the Nobility and Miniſters of State begun at laſt to beg the Monaſteries as Rewards of their Services: And People of all ſorts, married and unmarried, ran into them, and carried their Vices with them. And thus the Reputation of theſe Foundations was ſunk, almoſt as ſoon as it was raiſed; and things ran to ſuch a paſs, before the middle of the next Century, that the Council of *Cloveſhoe*, in the Year 747, not only takes notice of ſuch Monaſteries, as conſiſted wholly of Seculars, and of ſecular Perſons

and

and Virgins, living together in the ſame Houſe, but gives Poſterity a view of the Extravagancies the *Engliſh* Monaſteries were run into, by requiring, that thoſe places ſhould not be the Retreats of Poets, Muſicians, and Buffoons (*a*).

(*a*) *Concil. Britan. Vol.* I.

And ſome Years before this *Bede* complains, (*b*) that theſe Places were grown ſo looſe, that ſuch of the Nobility who deſired to have their Children virtuouſly educated, were forced to ſend them abroad; and that thoſe who were educated here, were under no Vows of Chaſtity, but gave up themſelves to every Lewdneſs, and debauched the Nuns themſelves (*c*); that the ſame Men were at once Abbots and Captains (*d*); that many of the Abbots were married Men (*e*); ſometimes imployed in the Converſation of their Wives, and the Care of their Children (*f*), and at other times in the Care of their Monaſteries. And as they thus imployed their Monaſteries whilſt they lived, ſo they diſpoſed them as their Property and Inheritance when they died, gave them to their Children, and ſometimes bequeathed the ſame Monaſtery to a Son and Daughter (*g*).

(*b*) Bed. *Epiſt. ad* Egbert. *pag.* 260. *&* 261.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Egberti *Dialogus de Eccleſ. Inſtit. pag.* 274.

SECT. IX. The Controverſy about *Eaſter*, and the Eccleſiaſtick Tonſure, took up a great part of this Age in *Britain*, as that of the *Monothelites* did abroad. Reliques had a ſhare too in the eſteem of this Age: But, after all, the Age appears much better than ſome have repreſented it. The uſe of Images, or rather Pictures, in Churches, was begun; but the Worſhip thereof was yet unknown. The Study of the Holy Scriptures was yet thought a Duty, and the Knowledge of them the beſt Qualification for the higheſt Stations in the Church. The Doctrines of Tranſubſtantiation and Worſhip of Saints were yet unknown; and the Doctrine of Purgatory was unformed, but the firſt rude Lines of it were drawn; and the credit that began to be given to Dreams and Viſions, that were now pretended to by ſome Men, and the Superſtition of the Age were preparing a way for it.

The Converſion which ſome part of the *Engliſh* ow'd to the Biſhops of *Rome*, in the beginning of this Century; and the Rites and Uſages which all the reſt had received from them, towards the later end of it, had raiſed a mighty Opinion of the Church and Biſhops of *Rome*, *Anno* 699.

Rome, amongſt the *Engliſh*; and this naturally led them to go thither for Devotion; and in all the Queſtions of Religion, and diſputes of Diſcipline and Rites, to apply themſelves to *Rome* for Inſtruction and Advice; and the Figure the Biſhops of *Rome*, at this time, made in the World, made it ſtill more reaſonable to pay a great deference and regard to the Opinion and Judgment of thoſe Prelates, but more than this was not pretended to on the one ſide, or ſo much as thought of by the other; and as this ſhews the reaſon why *Wilfrid* went to *Rome* to repreſent his Caſe, ſo this alſo ſhews us the reaſon why *Wilfrid* complained, in the beginning of the next Century, that the *Engliſh* Church had, for two and twenty Years together, deſpiſed the Judgment the Biſhops of *Rome* had pronounced in his favour.

And to make the Judgment of the *Engliſh* Church ſtill more plain in this particular, the Canons of the five firſt General Councils, which declare, that all Controverſies ſhall be finally determined in the Provinces wherein they ariſe; and that the Authority of Metropolitans, in their Synods, ſhould be final and unappealable, were received and eſtabliſhed by the whole *Engliſh* Church in the Council of *Hatfield*; and which is more, it ſeems very probable, that the Copies of theſe Councils had been brought from *Rome* by *Theodore*, and the ſettlement of a Diſcipline ſo croſs to all the late pretenſions of *Rome*, was chiefly, if not intirely owing to that Prelate, who had himſelf been made Archbiſhop at *Rome*.

And though in long tracts of Time, multiplicity of Articles, Laws, and Doctrines ſometimes thwart one another, yet it is impoſſible to think, that a National Church ſhould at once be brought to believe, that the Biſhops of *Rome* had a Right to Appeals, or any Authority over them; and yet at the ſame time eſtabliſh a Body of Canons, which directly contradict and forbid it.

Theſe few Reflections will give us ſome light into the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the *Engliſh* Church, in this preſent Century, and afford juſt grounds to affirm, that there were ſome Errors and odd Opinions, and unjuſtifiable Rites and Ceremonies, great degrees of Ignorance, Credulity, and Superſtition; and theſe were preparing the way for greater Errors; yet ſince the only, cer-

certain, and candid way of judging of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of a Church, is from the publick and authentick Acts thereof; and the Doctrine and Diſcipline of Chriſt, as aſſerted and explained by the five firſt General Councils, were, in the moſt publick manner that could be, received into the *Engliſh* Church, it ſeems reaſonable to determine of the Doctrine thereof by the publick Judgment of this Church, and conclude, that notwithſtanding ſome intermixture of Errors the Doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles explained by the five firſt General Councils were the received Standard of the Faith and Diſcipline of the *Engliſh* Church in the preſent Age. When and by what Steps a Change was made, is to be conſidered in its proper place.

CHAP. IX.

Ab Anno 700 ad Annum 705.

SECT. I. BEde's *Learning and Character. Invited to* Rome *to aſſiſt Pope* Sergius. *The occaſion thereof. He refuſes to go. The Emperor* Juſtinian *calls a Council of the* Eaſtern *Biſhops.*

II. *Canons there made, prejudicial to the Pretenſions of the Biſhops of* Rome. *Advantagious to thoſe of* Conſtantinople.

III. *Cauſe of* Wilfrid *brought into debate in a Synod at* Oſterfield. *Agreed to depoſe him. The Terms offered him.*

IV. Wilfrid's *Plea for himſelf. Charges the Synod with contemning the Biſhops of* Rome. *Challenges them to anſwer it at* Rome.

V. *The Synod contemns the Authority of the Biſhop's of* Rome., *treats him worſe, and excommunicates him for pretending to appeal to* Rome.

VI. *They juſtifie their Proceedings at* Rome, *by aſſerting the Authority of the* Engliſh *Church final and unappealable.*

VII. Wilfrid *goes to* Rome. Baronius's *Account thereof miſtaken.*

VIII. Wilfrid's *Addreſs and Petition to the Pope. Begs the Pope to Petition the King of* Northumberland *in his favour. The courſe of this Proceeding inconſiſtent with the Biſhop of* Rome's *Right to Appeals.*

IX. *The Proceedings at* Rome *do not aſſert their Right to Appeals.*

X. *Biſhop of* Rome *adjudged* Wilfrid *Innocent; but does not pretend to bind the* Engliſh *Biſhops, but ſends Epiſtles to intreat for his Reſtoration.* Wilfrid *has no Opinion of the Succeſs, and deſires to ſtay at* Rome.

XI. Wilfrid *returns to* England, *is reconciled to* Berthwald, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. *Yet his Mediation, together with his Letters from* Rome *are rejected, and he threatned to be put to Death.*

XII. *Revolutions in* Northumberland *give* Wilfrid *new hopes. The Synod of* Nidd *called on his Affair. The Debate therein.*

XIII. *Oppoſers of* Wilfrid *the greateſt Men of the Age. Account of their Perſons and Characters.*

Anno 701.

SECT. I. BARONIUS begins his Account of this Century with the Story of a Great Man, to whom the World is exceedingly indebted for his Hiſtory of the laſt; and this is the Holy and Venerable *Bede* (*a*), whoſe indefatigable Induſtry and comprehenſive Genius have furniſhed the World with ſuch laſting Monuments of Piety and Learning as ought to deliver the Age from the common reproach of Ignorance; or at leaſt ~~ought~~ to ſoften the Character of it.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal An.* 701.

Bede was, at this time, but about eight or nine and twenty Years of Age, and had ſpent his whole time betwixt the Abbies of *Wiremouth* and *Girwy* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, yet the Books he had wrote had raiſed him to ſuch Reputation in the Weſtern Nations, that *Sergius*, at this time Biſhop of *Rome*, wrote an Epiſtle to *Ceolfride*, Abbot of *Girwy*, under whoſe Government *Bede* now lived, to deſire the Abbot would oblige him and the Weſtern Churches with permitting *Bede* to come to *Rome*, (*b*) to be aſſiſtant to him in the Controverſies then on foot; but it does not appear by the Epiſtle, what the ſubject of Diſpute was, wherein that Prelate needed the help of *Bede*.

(*b*) Ibid.

The

The *Monothelite* Controverſy had for ſome time abated, and that about the Worſhip of Images was but gathering; therefore it ſeems moſt probable, that it was the new Body of Canons drawn up in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, called by the Emperor *Juſtinian* the Second, in the Year 692; the former Council of *Conſtantinople*, held in the Year 680, had publiſhed no Canons; therefore the Emperor *Juſtinian* intending to make ſuch Collection of Canons, as might ſerve to compoſe a Body of Canon Law, called together the four Eaſtern Patriarchs, and about one hundred and eighty Biſhops of the *Eaſt*; and, for ought appears, without ſummoning the Biſhops of the Weſtern part of the Empire.

SECT. II. This Aſſembly drew together a Body of Canons, conſiſting in all of one hundred and two; and becauſe theſe Canons are ſaid to be intended as a Supplement to the Fifth and Sixth General Councils, this Council is called *Quiniſextum*, and owned by the *Greek* Church as a General Council. But though *Juſtinian* was at this time Emperor of *Rome*, and the Biſhop thereof as much his Subject as any other Biſhop of the Empire, was, and he muſt be believed, tender of his Right; and this Body of Biſhops could not poſſibly be ignorant of the Rights or Pretenſions of the See of *Rome*; yet the thirty ſixth Canon of this Council, confirms to the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* the ſame Privileges that are injoyed by the Biſhops of *Rome*; and the thirty eighth lays it down as a ſtanding Rule, that the external Polity and Order in Church Affairs ought to follow the courſe of the Empire. *Anno* 701.

It is no wonder therefore if the Biſhops of *Rome*, who, from the time that *John*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, had publiſhed his Claim to be the firſt Biſhop of the Catholick Church, were infinitely jealous of the growing Power of the Biſhops of that See, were very uneaſy under theſe Canons, which by founding the precedence of the Biſhops of *Rome*, in the ſtate of the Empire, did, in effect avow the pretences of the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, that City being, at this time, the chief Seat of the Empire.

Nor did this Council only lay a Foundation for the growing Power of the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, but at the ſame time mortified the Ambition of thoſe of *Rome*; for

for in the thirteenth Canon it not only takes notice of an ill Usage of that Church to oblige their Presbyters and Deacons, at their Ordinations, to abandon their Wives, but on the contrary declares their Marriage lawful, and forbids their Separation upon the account of their Function: This so shocked the Patience of *Baronius*, that he calls it a profane Canon (*a*); certain it is, that upon Considerations of this kind the Authority of this Council has been rejected by a part of the Western Church, and great pains taken by *Surius*, *Bynius*, and *Baronius*, to lessen the reputation of it; and it is very likely, that these Canons are the *Capitula* intended by *Sergius* in his 'foresaid Epistle, and the assistance of *Bede* in this Controversy the occasion of writing it.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal.*

But whatever the intention of *Sergius* was, this Epistle did not only publish the Learning of *Bede*, but it has left the World a manifest proof of his great Modesty and Humility, and of the sense he had of the Authority of the Bishops of *Rome*; for it is certain, that *Bede* never went out of *England*, though he was at this time in a state of perfect Health, and lived about four and thirty Years after it. This was so negligent a return of the Honour intended him, as seems no way to consist with the modern Notions of the Papal Power.

Anno 701. SECT. III. That which challenges the next place in the beginning of this Age, is the unhappy Controversy which had given so much trouble to the last, the Case of *Wilfrid*. It is hard to say, how this Controversy was laid to sleep for some Years past; and it may be harder to point out the Springs which at this time set it into motion again. *Wilfrid* had continued from the Year 692, till about this time Bishop of *Leicester*; and whether it was that some ill Offices had been done, or whether it was, that by his own Indiscretion he had again provoked the Anger of *Alcfred*, the King of the *Northern English*, there is not light enough to determine.

But it appears, that about this time a design was formed to oblige *Wilfrid*, not only to give up all pretences to his Bishoprick of *York*, but to retire to a Monastery, and forbear all the Offices of his Holy Function. In pursuance of this Resolution *Alcfred*, King of the *Northumbrians*, and *Berthwald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, together with the greatest part of the *English* Bishops,

ſhops aſſembling in a Synod at *Oneſtrefield*, or *Oſterfield*, (*a*) *Wilfrid* was ſent for to confer with them; where, after long and warm Diſputes, the King, and Archbiſhop and Biſhops, agreed to confirm the Sentence of the late Archbiſhop *Theodore* againſt *Wilfrid*, relating, as I think, to the diviſion of the Dioceſs of *York*, which *Wilfrid* hitherto ſo zealouſly oppoſed.

(a) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 45. XV. *Scriptor pag.* 75.

Nor did they ſtop here, but agreed upon a general Sentence of Deprivation of whatever he held, either in the Kingdom of *Mercia* or *Northumberland* (*b*); but after ſome longer debate, this Sentence was a little ſoftned, and the Synod came to this Reſolution, that if *Wilfrid* would give over his other Pretenſions, he ſhould retain the Abby of *Rippon*, provided he would retire thither, and ſurceaſe all the Offices of his Epiſcopal Function, and, without the leave of the King, never ſtir beyond the Bounds of that Monaſtery (*c*); and that in the preſence of the Council he ſhould give aſſurance of his ſubmiſſion to this Sentence, under his own Hand (*d*).

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

SECT. IV. Theſe were Terms ſo throughly mortifying as put *Wilfrid* out of patience; and therefore he omitted nothing that might juſtify himſelf or reproach his Enemies; and in defence of himſelf he urged, that he had been almoſt forty Years a Biſhop (*e*), that he had done Services to the Church, by bringing over the *Engliſh* North of *Humber*, to the Catholick *Eaſter* and Eccleſiaſtick Tonſure, by introducing the alternate chanting of Services into the *Engliſh* Church, by being the firſt Perſon who had brought over the Rule of St. *Benedict* (*f*); nor did he omit to reproach them with the contempt they had ſhewed to the Judgment of the Biſhops of *Rome* in his favour, but ſaid nothing of that which ſeems beſt to deſerve remembrance, the Services he had done in the converſion of the *Friſians* and *South-Saxons*.

Anno 701.

(e) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 45.

(f) Ibid.

But after ſome time, in a very fierce and angry Air, told them, that *Agatho*, Biſhop of *Rome*, *Benedict*, Biſhop elect thereof, and *Sergius*, had declared him innocent, and given Judgment in his Favour (*g*); *but they had preferred the Conſtitutions made under* Theodore, *to the Judgment of the Apoſtolick See; and for two and twenty Years together had deſpiſed the Authority thereof* (*h*); and concludes with threatning them, that he would go to

(g) Ibid.

(h) Ibid.

Rome and vindicate his Innocence, and dares any of them to juſtify their Proceedings againſt him before the wiſe Men of *Rome* (*a*).

(*a*) Ibid.

Anno 701. SECT. V. Whatever *Wilfrid* expected, this Reſolution made no change in the ſenſe of the Council, but what was to his diſadvantage; for the Council was ſo far from ſtopping their Proceedings, or thinking their Authority inhibited by *Wilfrid*'s threatning to complain to the Apoſtolick See, that this his Conduct gave occaſion to the moſt publick declaration that could be made by ſuch a Body, that they believed that their Authority was final; and that they knew of no Right the See of *Rome* had to take cognizance of things tranſacted in *England*.

And therefore immediately upon *Wilfrid*'s ſaying he would go to *Rome*, the Writer of his Story adds, that the King and the Archbiſhop hearing what he ſaid, immediately replied, That now he had juſtified their Proceedings, and made the Sentence againſt him appear to be juſt, by chooſing to be judged at *Rome*, rather than by them. And in great indignation the King ſubjoined, That if the Council thought fit he would preſently force him to ſubmit, and declare he was ready to abide by their Judgment (*b*); but the Council having paſſed their Promiſe to *Wilfrid*, that no violence ſhould be offered to his Perſon, diſſwaded the King from this courſe (*c*).

Hæc audientes Archiepiſcopus & Rex dixerunt; modo utique culpabilis factus à nobis notatus damnetur, quod magis illorum quam noſtram elegit judicium.

(*b*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 45.

(*c*) Ibid.

But to vindicate their Authority, they immediately excommunicated him, and all his Followers and Adherents (*d*); and were ſo ſevere in their Proceedings, that they decreed, That if any Abbot or Prieſt of *Wilfrid*'s Party ſhould, with the Sign of the Croſs, bleſs the Meat of any Chriſtian People, it ſhould be eſteemed as Meat offered to Idols, and thrown out of Doors (*e*); and that the very Holy Veſſels made uſe of by that Party ſhould be eſteemed as defiled, and not uſed, till they had been waſhed (*f*).

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid.

Anno 701. SECT. VI. And to ſhew that this was not the effect of Reſentment, but the ſteddy and ſettled Judgment of the *Engliſh* Church; and that the Judgment of their Metropolitan in Synod was final; and that there lay no appeal to *Rome* as to a ſuperior Court, whatever deference upon other Accounts might be due to that

See

See. When they ſent their Meſſengers to *Rome*, to prevent the Aſperſions or falſe Repreſentations of *Wilfrid*, the firſt thing they charged upon that Prelate, and chiefly inſiſted on, was his refuſing to ſubmit to the Sentence of the Archbiſhop and his Synod (*a*).

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 51.

And when *Wilfrid* returned from *Rome*, King *Alcfred*, and his Biſhops, and Council, did again declare, *That what already had, and what ſhould be hereafter decreed by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops ſhould never be altered by any Decrees of the Apoſtolick See* (*b*). Though the courſe of this Story will make it neceſſary to repeat ſome of theſe particulars, yet I thought it needful to lay them together, that we might in one view have the Judgment and Senſe of the *Engliſh* Church of this Age, of the Authority of the Biſhops of *Rome*, whoſe Pretenſions have given ſo much trouble to after Ages. But to return.

(*b*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 61. *pag.* 84.

SECT. VII. The 'foreſaid Council of *Oſterfield* being ended, *Wilfrid* haſted away to *Etheldred*, King of the *Mercians*; and though the Council had deprived that Prelate of all the Preferment he held in *Mercia*, as well as in *Northumberland*, yet *Etheldred* having a particular eſteem for *Wilfrid*, was prevail'd upon to promiſe him, that the Sentence of the Council ſhould not be executed in his Dominions, till he could be informed of the Judgment of the Biſhop of *Rome* in the Matter under diſpute (*c*).

Anno 702.

(*c*) *Ejuſdem cap.* 46.

Wilfrid therefore lying under an Excommunication, haſted away to *Rome*. *Baronius* fixes the coming of *Wilfrid* to *Rome* in the Year 705, and in the firſt Year of Pope *John* the Seventh (*d*), and is poſitive it was not in the Reign of *John* the Fifth or Sixth; and grounds his Opinion on what *Bede* ſaith of *Wilfrid*'s living four Years after his Reſtoration to his Biſhoprick, and dying in the Year 709; but this Reaſon proves only that which was never denied, the time of his Reſtoration and Death.

(*d*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 705.

But it is evident from the words of *Wilfrid*, that this Council of *Oneſtrefield* was but two and twenty Years after the Sentence pronounced by *Agatho* in favour of *Wilfrid* (*e*); and the Council held by *Agatho*, was, according to *Baronius*, in the Year 679, and therefore this Council of *Oſtrefield* muſt needs fall in the Year 701; and it is as evident, that *Wilfrid* preſently after this Council went away to *Rome* (*f*).

(*e*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 45.

(*f*) *Ejuſdem, cap.* 48. *pag.* 77.

SECT.

SECT. VIII. But be this Matter as it will, *Wilfrid* arriving at *Rome*, in his firſt addreſs to Pope *John*, tells him (*a*), *That he came not through Envy to accuſe any body, but to vindicate himſelf before his Council, if any Perſon ſhould come thither to accuſe him.* Some time after his Arrival, he was followed by the Legates of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (*b*). This happened at a time when the Provincial Council of the Biſhop of *Rome* was convened, to conſider what Meaſures to take about the Canons of the Sixth General Council. (*c*)

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 48.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

Wilfrid preſented a Petition to Pope *John*, ſetting forth, that a Controverſy ariſing in the Churches of *Britain*, he had been deprived of his Biſhoprick and Monaſteries; and that upon this Account he had formerly applied himſelf to his Predeceſſors *Agatho*, *Benedict* elect, and *Sergius*, who had judged him innocent, and hoped that *John* would confirm the Judgment they had given; and that if any one would accuſe him he might have the liberty to anſwer for himſelf; and further praying, that he would require *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, that his Monaſteries, and Lands thereunto belonging, within his Dominions, might not, contrary to the Will of that Prince, and the appointment of the preceding Biſhops of *Rome*, be taken from him (*d*).

(*d*) Ibid.

He further prays, that he would make uſe of his Intereſt and gentle Admonitions, to perſwade (*e*) *Alcfred*, King of *Northumberland*, to obſerve what *Agatho* and his Council had determined in his favour; at leaſt he hoped, *That by the help of the Pope's Petition* (*f*) *in his favour, he might be permitted to enjoy his two Monaſteries of* Rippon *and* Hagulſtad. This is the ſumm of *Wilfrid's* Petition, which has ſo little of the air and form of an Appeal, as would be eſteemed an Affront, rather than a formal Appeal to a ſuperior Court; for the very asking the Biſhop of *Rome* to petition in his Favour, is ſo open a contradiction to a Canonical Right veſted in that See, to receive Appeals, as a Court ſuperior, that if there was no other Argument, this alone was enough to prove, that the *Engliſh* Church was yet a Stranger to the late Doctrine of Appeals, and the firſt, and indeed the only Article of Accuſation which the Legates of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* charged upon *Wilfrid*, is all of a piece with the Petition of that Prelate, and the Sentiments of thoſe who ſent them to *Rome*.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid.

For

For the accuſation againſt him was, that he had refuſed to ſubmit to the Authority of the Archbiſhop and his Synod (*a*); and nothing can be more trifling and ridiculous, than to charge it upon a Man as a Fault, not to acquieſce in the Judgment of a Court, if there had been a ſuperior Court, to which the Law permits him to remove his Cauſe by an Appeal: And the Folly had been greater ſtill, not to bring this Charge to the Court where the Right of Appeals was lodged, if the Accuſers had known of any Right, or ſo much as of any pretence of this kind.

(*a*) *Ejuſdem cap.* 51.

SECT. IX. And the Conduct of *John*, Biſhop of *Rome*, and his Council, no way thwart theſe Reflections on this Affair; they heard the Accuſation, and the Defence of *Wilfrid*, and upon conſideration thereof, pronounced him innocent; and whereas he before ſtood Excommunicated by the *Engliſh*, they received him into their Communion. And whatever this may be called, this amounts to no more than what the Canons of the Church had allowed to every Biſhop, when a Prieſt, or a Lay-Man were Excommunicated; and to every Metropolitan in the caſe of Biſhops. It is true, the better to teſtify the Unity of the Church, and that it was animated and governed by one common Spirit and Power, the Council of *Nice* required, that whoever was rightfully put out of the Communion of the Church by any one Biſhop, ſhould not be received to the Communion by any other. *Anno* 704.

Yet this Canon was never intended to oblige, but where the Power of the Keys was rightly applied; conſequently every Church, and every Biſhop, had a Right to Judge, when an Excommunicated Perſon deſired to be admitted to their Communion, whether he had been rightfully put out of the Church or not. And, in fact, this was a common practice of the Catholick Church; and yet this practice was never thought any act of Superiority, of one Church, or one Biſhop over another, but a common Right of every particular Church to judge for it ſelf; and no further obliging to any other Church, than the Act was agreeable to common Right.

Thus *Victor*, Biſhop of *Rome*, excommunicated the Church of *Aſia*; and yet whilſt it lay under that Cenſure, no other Church refuſed Communion with the

Aſiatick Churches. Thus too did the Biſhops of *Rome* receive *Athanaſius* and *Chryſoſtom* to their Communion, though excommunicated in the *Eaſt*; and yet no body ever blamed them for it: And, except *Bellarmine*, no body ever pretended to prove their Right to Appeals, from the exerciſe of a Power which neceſſarily flows from the Power of the Keys, and lies common to every Biſhop of the Catholick Church.

Anno 704. SECT. X. But whatever the Reaſon and Ground of the Proceedings of the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Council were, the Matter of Fact is not to be denied; they pronounced *Wilfrid* innocent, but did not pretend to a final deciſion of the Controverſy, nor to pronounce any judicial Sentence that ſhould, from the formal and proper nature thereof, be binding to the *Engliſh* Churches.

But, inſtead thereof, *John*, Biſhop of *Rome*, wrote a Letter (*a*) to *Etheldred*, King of *Mercia*, and *Alcfred*, King of *Northumberland*, in which he deſires that *Brightwald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſhould call a Council, at which *Wilfrid* ſhould be alſo preſent; and that *Boſa* and *John*, Biſhops of *York* and *Hagulſtad*, ſhould be ſummoned; and that upon hearing of all Parties, they ſhould endeavour to determine this Affair amongſt themſelves; and that in caſe the Matter could not be thus adjuſted, that the Parties concerned in it ſhould come to *Rome*, and that he would call together a greater number of Biſhops than thoſe preſent at *Rome* at this time, and endeavour, with their aſſiſtance, finally to determine this Affair (*b*).

(*a*) *Concil. Tom. 6. Ed. Lab. Col.* 1390.

(*b*) Ibid.

Wilfrid had found by experience, how little the Epiſtles of the Biſhops of *Rome* ſignified in *England*; and therefore, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed in his favour, he deſired not to return to *England*, but to ſtay and wear out the ſhort remains of his Life at *Rome* (*c*).

(*c*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap* 53, & 60.

But however agreeable this was to the Inclination and Age of *Wilfrid*, being at this time above Seventy, it was not approved at *Rome*; but, on the contrary, having, as the Writer of his Life ſaith, promiſed all Duty and Obedience to the Apoſtolick See; the Intereſts thereof bore down his hope, and the Infirmities of the Old Man were forced to give way to an Authority that was never touched with pity, when Obedience was thought its Intereſt; for Pope *John*, and his whole Synod, commanded *Wil-*

Wilfrid to return to *Britain* (*a*), and communicate their ſenſe to the Kings and the Archbiſhop (*b*).

(*a*) Ibid.
(*b*) Ibid.

This Holy Prelate, adds the ſame Writer, knowing how to obey, after he had furniſhed himſelf with Reliques and Veſtments for the Ornament of his Churches, left *Rome* and returned to *England*, and, as I think, ſometime in the compaſs of the Year 704.

SECT. XI. *Wilfrid* being returned, applied himſelf firſt to *Brightwald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and prevailed ſo far upon him, that they were not only reconciled, but the Archbiſhop promiſed to uſe his Intereſt to mitigate the Sentence which the *Engliſh* Synod had paſſed upon him; or, as the Writer of his Life ſaith, *Spopondit mitigare judicia dura olim in Synodo ſtatuta* (*c*), he promiſed to ſoften the harſh Decrees which had formerly been pronounced againſt him by the Synod; a promiſe that had been very needleſs, if the Judgment of the *Engliſh* Church had been reverſed or nulled at *Rome*, and very far ſhort of his Duty, if the Archbiſhop had been appriſed of any ſuch Authority veſted in the Biſhop or See of *Rome*.

Anno 705.

(*c*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 55.

From *Kent Wilfrid* haſtened to the Court of the King of the *Mercians* (*d*), but *Ethelred*, the King thereof, when *Wilfrid* went to *Rome*, and to whom the Epiſtle of the Biſhop of *Rome* is directed, had, in the Year 704, quitted his Government, and, according to the prevailing Humour of the Age, buried himſelf alive in the Monaſtery of *Bardeney* in *Lincolnſhire* (*e*); but having reſigned his Crown to *Kenred*, his Couſin-German, he made uſe of the Intereſt he had in that Prince to favour the Pretenſions of *Wilfrid*; and, for himſelf, promiſed all the Services he was capable of doing for him (*f*).

(*d*) Ibid.
(*e*) Ibid.
(*f*) Ibid.

Some time after this, by the Advice of *Ethelred*, *Kenred* ſent Meſſengers to *Alcfred*, King of *Northumberland*, to deſire his leave for *Wilfrid* to come and wait upon him with the Writings he had brought from *Rome* (*g*); the King received the Meſſengers graciouſly, and told them, he would, in a little time, give them his Anſwer; accordingly, having adviſed with his Council, he did, at the time appointed, by their Advice, return them this Anſwer:

(*g*) *Ejuſdem, cap.* 61.

That he had a great value for their Perſons; and that if they would ask any thing for themſelves he would readily gratify

Asiatick Churches. Thus too did the Bishops of *Rome* receive *Athanasius* and *Chrysostom* to their Communion, though excommunicated in the *East*; and yet no body ever blamed them for it: And, except *Bellarmine*, no body ever pretended to prove their Right to Appeals, from the exercise of a Power which necessarily flows from the Power of the Keys, and lies common to every Bishop of the Catholick Church.

Anno 704. SECT. X. But whatever the Reason and Ground of the Proceedings of the Bishop of *Rome* and his Council were, the Matter of Fact is not to be denied; they pronounced *Wilfrid* innocent, but did not pretend to a final decision of the Controversy, nor to pronounce any judicial Sentence that should, from the formal and proper nature thereof, be binding to the *English* Churches.

But, instead thereof, *John*, Bishop of *Rome*, wrote a Letter (*a*) to *Etheldred*, King of *Mercia*, and *Alcfred*, King of *Northumberland*, in which he desires that *Brightwald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, should call a Council, at which *Wilfrid* should be also present; and that *Bosa* and *John*, Bishops of *York* and *Hagulstad*, should be summoned; and that upon hearing of all Parties, they should endeavour to determine this Affair amongst themselves; and that in case the Matter could not be thus adjusted, that the Parties concerned in it should come to *Rome*, and that he would call together a greater number of Bishops than those present at *Rome* at this time, and endeavour, with their assistance, finally to determine this Affair (*b*).

(*a*) *Concil. Tom. 6. Ed. Lab. Col.* 1390.

(*b*) Ibid.

Wilfrid had found by experience, how little the Epistles of the Bishops of *Rome* signified in *England*; and therefore, notwithstanding all that had passed in his favour, he desired not to return to *England*, but to stay and wear out the short remains of his Life at *Rome* (*c*).

(*c*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 53, & 60.

But however agreeable this was to the Inclination and Age of *Wilfrid*, being at this time above Seventy, it was not approved at *Rome*; but, on the contrary, having, as the Writer of his Life saith, promised all Duty and Obedience to the Apostolick See; the Interests thereof bore down his hope, and the Infirmities of the Old Man were forced to give way to an Authority that was never touched with pity, when Obedience was thought its Interest; for Pope *John*, and his whole Synod, commanded *Wil-*

Wilfrid to return to *Britain* (*a*), and communicate their ſenſe to the Kings and the Archbiſhop (*b*). (*a*) Ibid. (*b*) Ibid.

This Holy Prelate, adds the ſame Writer, knowing how to obey, after he had furniſhed himſelf with Reliques and Veſtments for the Ornament of his Churches, left *Rome* and returned to *England*, and, as I think, ſometime in the compaſs of the Year 704.

SECT. XI. *Wilfrid* being returned, applied himſelf firſt to *Brightwald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and prevailed ſo far upon him, that they were not only reconciled, but the Archbiſhop promiſed to uſe his Intereſt to mitigate the Sentence which the *Engliſh* Synod had paſſed upon him; or, as the Writer of his Life ſaith, *Spopondit mitigare judicia dura olim in Synodo ſtatuta* (*c*), he promiſed to ſoften the harſh Decrees which had formerly been pronounced againſt him by the Synod; a promiſe that had been very needleſs, if the Judgment of the *Engliſh* Church had been reverſed or nulled at *Rome*, and very far ſhort of his Duty, if the Archbiſhop had been appriſed of any ſuch Authority veſted in the Biſhop or See of *Rome*. *Anno* 705. (*c*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 55.

From *Kent Wilfrid* haſtened to the Court of the King of the *Mercians* (*d*), but *Ethelred*, the King thereof, when *Wilfrid* went to *Rome*, and to whom the Epiſtle of the Biſhop of *Rome* is directed, had, in the Year 704, quitted his Government, and, according to the prevailing Humour of the Age, buried himſelf alive in the Monaſtery of *Bardeney* in *Lincolnſhire* (*e*); but having reſigned his Crown to *Kenred*, his Couſin-German, he made uſe of the Intereſt he had in that Prince to favour the Pretenſions of *Wilfrid*; and, for himſelf, promiſed all the Services he was capable of doing for him (*f*). (*d*) Ibid. (*e*) Ibid. (*f*) Ibid.

Some time after this, by the Advice of *Ethelred*, *Kenred* ſent Meſſengers to *Alcfred*, King of *Northumberland*, to deſire his leave for *Wilfrid* to come and wait upon him with the Writings he had brought from *Rome* (*g*); the King received the Meſſengers graciouſly, and told them, he would, in a little time, give them his Anſwer; accordingly, having adviſed with his Council, he did, at the time appointed, by their Advice, return them this Anſwer: (*g*) *Ejuſdem, cap.* 61.

That he had a great value for their Perſons; and that if they would ask any thing for themſelves he would readily gratify

gratify them; but commanded them to ſollicit him no more in the Affair of Wilfrid; *for*, ſaith he, *what my Predeceſſors, Kings of* Northumberland, *with the Archbiſhop, and their Council, did formerly agree upon; and what my ſelf, with an Archbiſhop ſent from* Rome, *together with the greateſt part of the* Engliſh *Biſhops have again determined, I will never alter as long as I live, for what you call the Writings of the Apoſtolick See.* (*a*)

(*a*) Ibid.

With this melancholly Meſſage *Badwin* and *Aldfrid*, the Legates of *Wilfrid*, returned to him: But before the end of this Year this Prince died, and, as the ſame Author ſaith, in his Sickneſs repented this his Reſolution, and vowed the Reſtoration of *Wilfrid*, and ſubmiſſion to the Judgment of the Apoſtolick See, if he recovered; and charged the performance of this his Vow upon his Succeſſor, in caſe of his Death (*b*).

(*b*) *Ejuſdem cap.* 57.

After a languiſhing Sickneſs King *Alcfred* died, and his Son *Oſred* being but a Child, *Eadwulf* poſſeſſed himſelf of the Kingdom, and continued his Poſſeſſion thereof for about two Months, during which time, *Wilfrid*, who, it ſeems, was not only known to *Eadwulf*, but thought himſelf ſafe in his Friendſhip, ſent his Meſſengers to ſollicit for his Reſtoration, and came himſelf to his Abby of *Rippon*, that he might be at hand to poſſeſs himſelf of the Favours he expected from the Uſurper.

But inſtead thereof, this Prince, by the Advice of his Council, ſent *Wilfrid* this very rough Meſſage, *That if he did not depart out of his Kingdom in the compaſs of ſix Days, he would put to death all his Friends and Followers that he could meet with* (*c*). But the Reign of this Uſurper was very ſhort, for a Conſpiracy being formed againſt him, he was driven out of his Kingdom, in about two Months, and *Oſred* a Child of about eight Years old, the Son of *Alcfred*, ſet up in his ſtead.

(*c*) Ibid.

Anno 705. SECT. XII. This Revolution in the ſtate of this Northern Kingdom, produced another in the Church thereof; for now the Miniſtry falling into the hands of thoſe who favoured *Wilfrid*, and which, it may be, was of greater moment, *Boſa*, Biſhop of *York*, dying this Year, a way ſeemed opened to his Reſtoration; and therefore *Brightwald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in purſuance of the Inſtructions he had received from *Rome*, made a Journey to the *North*, and, at his Inſtance, *Oſred*, King of

of *Northumberland*, together with the Biſhops, Abbots, and Nobility of that Kingdom, *Wilfrid* the Complainant, and *Ælfled* an Abbeſs, aſſembled near to the River *Nidd*, together with the Archbiſhop, to find out ſome temper to accommodate that Affair, which had given ſo much trouble to the Church.

The Archbiſhop, after a ſhort Prayer for Peace, open'd the Aſſembly with the reading, and an account of the importance of the Letters from *Rome*, directed to the Kings of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, and to himſelf; and having declar'd his own Reconciliation with *Wilfrid*, proceeded to mind the Biſhops concerned in this Controverſy, of the Judgment of *John*, Biſhop of *Rome*, and his Council in this Affair.

To this the Biſhops, who oppoſed the Reſtitution of *Wilfrid*, anſwered, *Who had Power to change thoſe things, which their Predeceſſors, together with* Theodore, *Archbiſhop, by the Apoſtolick See, and King* Ecgfride *had long ſince determined, and which had ſince been confirmed by King* Alcfred, *the Archbiſhop himſelf, together with the greateſt part of the* Engliſh *Biſhops, aſſembled in the Council of* Oſterfield (*a*)?

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid. *cap.* 58.

SECT. XIII. That which makes this Anſwer a little more ſurpriſing is, that it ſpeaks the ſenſe of Men who were the greateſt Zealots for the Rites and Uſages of the *Roman* Church; and which is more, Men who make the greateſt Figure in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, of which *John* of *Beverly*, at this time Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, and afterwards of *York*, was doubtleſs one: And it is obſervable, that during this Controverſy, the greateſt Men amongſt the *Engliſh* Biſhops were thoſe who oppoſed *Wilfrid*, and deſpiſed the Authority of the Biſhops and See of *Rome*. *Anno* 705.

Upon *Wilfrid*'s Baniſhment, in the Year 678 his Dioceſs was divided into two, and about three Years after into three, *viz. York*, *Hagulſtad*, and *Lindisfarne*; in the See of *York Boſa* was his only Succeſſor, and died this Year, a Man, as *Bede* ſaith, of ſingular Merit and Holineſs; *Eata*, who was firſt Biſhop of *Hagulſtad* and *Lindisfarne*, and, upon the diviſion of that See, Biſhop of *Lindisfarne* alone, and afterwards of *Hagulſtad*; he had been Abbot of *Mailros*, and, as the ſame Author ſaith, a Man of great Probity and Holineſs.

Cuthbert was, by the Synod of *Alne*, (*a*) in which *Theodore* preſided, choſen Succeſſor to *Eata* in the See of *Lindisfarne*, a Man ſo famous for his Aſcetick Life and Miracles, that his Story and Miracles take up ſeveral Chapters in the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory of *Bede* (*b*), but in his Book *De Temporum ratione*, he ſaith of that Prelate, that his whole Life, from his Infancy to his Old Age, was famous for Miracles (*c*); but his Glory ſhined ſtill brighter in the following Ages, when the Monks came to have the telling of his Story.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 27,28,29.

(*c*) Bedæ *De Tempor. ratione, cap.* 66. *fol.* 64. *Ed.* Baſil. *An.* 1529.

In the See of *Hagulſtad*, *John* of *Beverly* ſucceeded *Eata*, whoſe Figure in the *Engliſh* Story, challenges the next place to that of *Cuthbert*. He was perſonally known of *Bede*, and has a Character from him every way becoming his Function and Station in the Church: But under the Name of St. *John* of *Beverly*, his Fame and Miracles are celebrated by after Ages, and a Feſtival was erected to his Memory by the *Engliſh* Church in the beginning of the fifteenth Century; and in the Inſtrument by which the obſervance of that Feſtival was eſtabliſhed, the reaſon thereof is ſaid to be, the Aſſiſtance he gave to *Henry* the Fifth in the Battel of *Agyncourt* (*d*).

(*d*) *Regiſt. Dec. & Cap.* Lincoln. *Notat. pag.* 42.

This *John* was perſonally preſent at the Council of *Nidd*, and was doubtleſs one of thoſe Biſhops who oppoſed the Reſtitution of *Wilfrid*.

CHAP. X.

Ab Anno 705 ad Annum 736.

SECT. I. *THE Affair of* Wilfrid *compromiſed: He made Biſhop of* Hagulſtad: *The Reaſons and Circumſtances thereof. The Death of* Wilfrid.

II. *A Council ſaid to be called at* London *to eſtabliſh the Worſhip of Images; and to be occaſioned by the Viſions of* Edgwin, *Biſhop of* Worceſter: *The Miſtakes about this Affair. Images not yet received into the* Engliſh *Church. Miſtakes of* Baronius, *and the Centuriators about this Affair.*

III. *Pilgrimages come into Reputation: The debauchery occaſioned thereby.*

IV. *Char-*

IV. *Charters ſaid to be granted to the Monaſtery of* Eveſham, *an Impoſture.*

V. *Several* Engliſh *famous abroad.* Boniface, *an* Engliſhman *Archbiſhop of* Mentz. *The Clergy attempt to bring the* Britons *and* Scots *to the Catholick* Eaſter.

VI. Britons *continue their ancient Rites; refuſe Communion with the Church of* England. Brightwald, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *dies.*

VII. Tatwin *ſucceeds, pays no regard to the Biſhop of* Rome. *State of the Church of* England *at the Death of* Bede.

VIII. *In the ſtate of the Church by* Bede, *no account of the Lower Clergy. Conjecture at the reaſon of the late eſtabliſhment of Parochial Clergy.*

IX. Bede *complains of the number of Monaſteries, and ill conſequences of the Monaſtick Life. Adviſes the leſſening the number of Monaſteries, and increaſing of the Secular Clergy: Shews the great want of ſuch. Tranſlates the Creed and Lord's-Prayer into* Engliſh, *to be taught the People.*

X. Bede *adviſes erecting Monaſteries into Epiſcopal Sees, and taking the Lands thereof for their Subſiſtence; erecting* York *into an Archbiſhoprick: Charges the Monaſticks with debauchery, and ſhews the danger to the State by their encreaſe.*

XI. Engliſh *Princes retire to Monaſteries: Not ſuch Perfection therein, as the Legendary Writers pretend, ſhewed from* Bede's *Account of the Looſneſs of thoſe Societies.*

XII. *Reaſons for inſerting the Reflections of* Bede *on the Monaſticks.* York *not an Archbiſhoprick in the Year* 735. *Effect of the Monaſtick Life what* Bede *foretold.*

XIII. Bede's *Epiſtle to* Egbert, *Biſhop of* York, *his laſt Works. State of Learning in his Time. The decay of Learning.*

SECT. I. BUT though the Judgment of the Biſhop and Council of *Rome*, ſeconded by the Intereſt and recommendation of *Berthwald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had no force in the 'foreſaid Council, a *Annis* 705. 706.

Rea-

Reaſon of a different nature prevailed; for *Ælfled*, Abbeſs of *Streneſhall*, now *Whitby*, and Siſter of the late deceaſed King, declared in the Council, that her Brother *Alcfred*, late King of *Northumberland*, did, upon his Death-Bed, make a Vow to reſtore *Wilfrid*; and left it as a Charge on his Succeſſor to perform it, in caſe he died before it could be accompliſhed: This changed the former Reſolution of the Council; and this Temper was at laſt agreed upon, That *John*, at this time Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, ſhould be removed to the See of *York*, now void by the Death of *Boſa*; and that *Wilfrid* ſhould ſucceed him in the Biſhoprick and Abby of *Hagulſtad*; and, together with them, enjoy his Abby of *Rippon*.

And thus ended this Affair, which, with ſome Intermiſſions, had laſted near forty Years, which I have related at length, that we may at once ſee the ſenſe the *Engliſh* Church then had of the Authority of the Biſhops and See of *Rome*; and how little colour there is for the Pretences to a Right of Appeals, or a Patriarchal Power extended to the *Engliſh* Church, which ſome Learned Men have pretended to prove, from the Story of *Wilfrid*.

The ſame Year in which this Council was held, died *Hedda* Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*; and, upon his Death, his Biſhoprick, which had for a time comprehended the two Kingdoms of the *Weſt* and *South-Saxons*, was divided (*a*): *Daniel* was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; *Aldhelm*, Biſhop of *Sherborn*; and the Biſhoprick of *Seolſey*, comprehending the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*, and which, from the time that *Wilfrid* had relinquiſhed it, had been under the Adminiſtration of the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, was now filled by *Eadbert*, late Abbot thereof, and from this time continued a diſtinct Biſhoprick.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 19.

Anno 709. About four Years after his Reſtoration died *Wilfrid*, Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, at *Owndle* in *Northampton-ſhire*, where he had a Monaſtery, in which he died; but his Corps being firſt embalmed, and attended with great numbers of the Religious, was, with great Pomp, carried to *Rippon* in *York-ſhire*, where it was buried; and he who was never at quiet before, was thus laid to reſt. Notwithſtanding his Troubles and repeated Baniſhment that Prelate left a great deal of Wealth behind him; which,

which by his Will he ordered to be divided into four Parts (*a*), whereof one, and that the beſt, he gave to the Churches of St. *Mary* and St. *Paul's* in *Rome*; the ſecond to the Poor; the third to the Priors of the Abbies he had founded, the better to enable them by Preſents to make Friends with their Kings and Biſhops; the fourth part he gave to ſuch of his Attendants and Followers which he had not otherwiſe provided for in his Life-time.

(*a*) Eddii *Vit.* Wilfrid *cap.* 60.

His Charity to the Churches in *Rome* is, by his direction, to be offered as Gifts for his Soul, but he lived too early to give direction for Maſſes, or think of providing againſt the dangers of Purgatory.

SECT. II. The Controverſy about the Worſhip of Images has given a Title to this Age, and took up a great ſhare of the later end of it; a way of Worſhip ſo agreeable to corrupted Nature, that we are told, this Age was contented to take it upon the Authority of Dreams and Viſions; and the *Engliſh* Church ſo forward in it, that *Baleus*, (*b*) and from him the *Magdeburgenſes*, as well as other Learned Writers, tell us of a Council held in *London*, in the Year 710, wherein this Worſhip was eſtabliſhed; others place this two, and ſome four Years later; and, for ought appears to the contrary, are all equally in the right. The occaſion and circumſtances whereof are thus related.

Anno 710.

(*b*) *Scriptor. Britan. Cent. primus, pag.* 88.

Edgwin a Monk, being made Biſhop of *Worceſter*, about the Year 692, had, about ten Years after, a Viſion, wherein three Perſons are ſaid to appear to him, whereof one was thought by him to be the Bleſſed Virgin, requiring him to build a Monaſtery, and therein ſet up her Image, and cauſe it to be worſhipped; and that in purſuance thereof that Prelate erected a Monaſtery at *Eveſham* in *Worceſterſhire*, where the Viſion appeared, and going to *Rome* to have the Privileges thereof confirmed, *Conſtantine* then Biſhop, ſent *Boniface* his Legate into *England*, who, together with *Berthwald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, calling the 'foreſaid Council, beſides confirming the Privileges of the Monaſtery of *Eveſham*, appointed the ſetting up and Worſhip of Images in Churches. This is the Account we have of this Affair, from the Monks of *Eveſham*, and the Legendary Writers of their Story.

And the Centuriators ſeem to give credit to this Story, and beſtow a great deal of Paſſion upon it, and which is more, upon Biſhop *Edgwin* too; yet, after all, the Charter of *Eveſham*, for the ſake whereof all this Story has its beginning, is juſt as well grounded as the Charter ſaid to be granted to the Monaſtery of St. *Medard*, at *Soiſons* in *France*; which Charter bears date in the Year 594, and is ſaid to be granted by *Gregory the Great*, and to be atteſted by *Mellitus*, Biſhop of *London* (*a*); and yet this was ten Years before the Biſhoprick of *London* was erected, and three or four Years before *Auſtin* came into *England*, in order to the Converſion of the *Engliſh*.

(*a*) *Concil. Tom.* 5. Lab. *Col.* 1582.

Anno 710. And the 'foreſaid Story of the Legantine Council under *Boniface*, ſeems no better grounded; for this *Boniface* can be no other than *Winfrid*, an *Engliſh-man*, who changed his Name for that of *Boniface*, and was afterward Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and ſucceſſively Legate to *Gregory* the Second and Third, and *Zachary* the Second, for the ſpace of thirty ſix Years (*b*): But in his Epiſtle to Pope *Stephen*, wherein he gives a full account of his Services to the See of *Rome*, *Boniface* does not pretend to have been Legate to *Conſtantine*, Predeceſſor to *Gregory* the Second; but, on the contrary, the date of that Epiſtle, compared with the number of Years in which he ſerved the Biſhops of *Rome*, in the quality of Legate, demonſtrates, he had never been Legate to Pope *Conſtantine*, and much leſs at the time of this Council; for that Epiſtle was wrote about the Year 754, which was four and forty Years after the 'foreſaid Council of *London*, and about forty after the Death of Pope *Conſtantine*, and conſequently the firſt advancement of *Boniface* to the Legantine Power will fall in with the Year 718, which was about the fourth of *Gregory* the Second, and about eight Years after the 'foreſaid Council of *London*: And as we are thus deprived of the Legate, *Bede* has depriv'd us of the Council held under him, at leaſt, has left no remains of any ſuch Council, though he lived and flouriſhed at this time, nor ſo much as any remembrance, or mention, of ſuch an Aſſembly.

(*b*) *Concil. Tom.* 6. Lab. *Col.* 1654.

Anno 710. And, it may be, if one looks a little nearer, the mighty Privileges with which the Religious of the Monaſtery of *Eveſham*, made ſo much noiſe in after Ages, would ap-

appear as well grounded as the Council which confirm'd them, or the Viſions of their Founder; for notwithſtanding the exemptions from ſecular Services, ſaid to be granted them by the Kings *Kenred* and *Offa* (*a*), confirm'd by *Edgwin*, Biſhop of *Worceſter* (*b*), and *Conſtantine*, Biſhop of *Rome*, and the great Immunities the Monaſticks did afterward pretend to by Vertue of the Charters of this Age, *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, in his Epiſtle to *Cuthbert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, about the Year 746 (*c*), obſerves the Eſtates of the Monks were ſo far from being excuſed from Secular Services, that their very Perſons were not exempted, but, on the contrary, obliged to labour in the building the Palaces of their Kings (*d*), and ſuch other ſervile Works as they required; and that that Servitude, though as he ſaid peculiar to *England*, was an ancient Uſage (*e*). But to return.

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* I. *pag.* 209.
(*b*) Ibid.
(*c*) *Concil. Britan. Vol.* I. *pag.* 241.
(*d*) Ibid.
(*e*) Ibid.

That the Glories of the Monaſtery of *Eveſham* might be all of a piece, the ſame Authority to which we owe our Account of this Council, has obliged the World with ſeveral Grants and Charters, which take a great deal of room in *Spelman*'s, *Binius*, and *Labbe*'s Collections, as well as in the *Monaſticon*, though the Marks of Falſhood and Impoſture are ſo plain, that both *Binius* and *Baronius* (*f*) are contented they ſhould paſs for ſuch. Nor do they treat the Story of the 'foreſaid Council in a better manner; and yet the Epiſtle of Pope *Conſtantine*, to *Berthwald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (*g*), the Charters of *Kenred* and *Offa* (*h*), and the Council of *Aln*, ſaid to be held upon the occaſion of the Monaſtery of *Eveſham*, do all depend on the Authority they reject. The truth is,

(*f*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 714.
(*g*) *Concil Brit. Tom.* I. *pag.* 213.
(*h*) *Concil. Brit. Tom.* I. *pag.* 209.

This Story of the Council of *London*, for which there is the ſame Authority as for the Viſions of *Edgwin*, leſſens the Antiquity of Image-Worſhip, whereas *Baronius* would have it believ'd, that the Worſhip of Images was brought into *England*, together with the Goſpel, by *Auſtin* the Monk, and chooſes to looſe the Glory of *Edgwin*'s Viſions, to venture the diſpleaſure of the whole *Benedictine* Order, and daſh a Scene of Invention, which coſt ſome later Monk a great deal of Labour, rather than bring the Worſhip of Images one Age lower than the Days of *Auſtin* (*i*).

(*i*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 714.

SECT.

Anno 710.

SECT. III. And yet, after all, in the Charter which contains an Account of the Viſions of *Edgwin*, there is not, as the very Learned and Judicious Publiſher thereof well obſerves, any mention of the Worſhip of Images, or of introducing them into Churches (*a*). And there is great reaſon to think, this was a Corruption of a later date; the Reaſons of *Baronius* to the contrary ſhall be conſidered, when the Controverſy about Image-Worſhip calls us to it. In the mean time,

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* I. *pag.* 212.

I cannot omit to obſerve, what the many Inſtances we have of it, about this time, will ſcarce ſuffer one to paſs by; and that is, an odd and ſurpriſing Opinion of the Merit and Holineſs of Pilgrimages to *Rome*, which ſo wonderfully prevail'd at this time, that the *Engliſh* People, of all Ranks and Degrees, of every Sex and Age, travelled to *Rome* (*b*), and placed a mighty Confidence in viſiting the Tombs of the Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and ſuch other Holy Men as had there ſuffered for the ſake of Chriſt, and put ſuch ſtreſs upon it, as if a little, and, in appearance, a trifling Inſtance of Zeal, which Chriſt and his Apoſtles had never ſo much as mentioned, had been enough to atone for the Breach of thoſe Holy Laws they had declared neceſſary to Happineſs and Salvation.

(*b*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 709.

And it happened herein, as it generally does, when ſuch Inſtances of Zeal obtain in the World, thoſe gained the greateſt Reputation for Devotion, who, it may be, had the leaſt ſhare of it. In ſhort, this Humour ſo prevail'd about the middle of this Century, that *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, in an Epiſtle to *Cuthbert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (*c*), not only takes notice of the *Engliſh* Nuns running to *Rome*, upon this occaſion, but to aſcribe to this Cauſe, what he further adds, that there were few Cities in *Lombardy*, *France*, or *Gaul*, in which there were not to be found ſome lewd Women of the *Engliſh* Nation (*d*); and upon this ground recommends to him the ſuppreſſion of this Practice, as of very ſcandalous and ill conſequence (*e*).

(*c*) *Epiſt.* Bonifacii. *Concil. Brit. Vol.* I. *p.* 241.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

Nor were the *Engliſh* ſingular in this piece of Devotion, but the *French* had ſo conſiderable a ſhare therein, that the pretences of Pilgrimage to *Rome* and *Tours*, became a common Art of Oppreſſion amongſt the Nobility and Biſhops of *France*, who, under that pretence, ſo

ſo frequently raiſed Money from their Tenants and Vaſſals, that in one of the Capitulars of *Charles the Great*, that Prince not only takes notice of this corrupt Practice, but thought himſelf obliged to forbid it by a Law (*a*).

(*a*) *Concil. Tom.* 7. Lab. Col.

Amongſt thoſe which this unaccountable Zeal drew to *Rome*, *Bede* makes mention of *Cœnred*, King of the *Mercians*, and of *Offa*, a young Man of great Vertue and promiſing hopes, Son of *Sighere*, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, who, in the Year 709, went to *Rome* and turned Monks.

SECT. IV. And there ſeems no reaſon to doubt, but that this piece of Hiſtory gave occaſion to the Charter (*b*) ſaid to be granted to the Monaſtery of *Eveſham*, by *Kenred* King of the *Mercians*, and *Offa* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and confirmed by *Conſtantine* Biſhop of *Rome*; but, as ill luck would have it, in this Charter *Offa* is ſaid to be King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, whereas there was never any King of the *Eaſt-Angles* of that Name, till many Years after the date of that Charter; and the *Offa* that *Bede* mentions, was a Prince of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and never King, but during the Life of his Father, King thereof, took the Habit at *Rome*, and there continued till he died (*c*).

Anno 710.

(*b*) *Concil. Britan.*

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib* 5. *cap.* 20.

Beſides, it is not eaſy to conceive, what *Offa*, a Prince of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, had to do at *Eveſham*, in the Kingdom of *Mercia*; and the *Offa* who was afterwards King of *Mercia*, came not to the Crown till above forty Years after the Death of *Conſtantine*, Biſhop of *Rome*. But to return.

The frequent Wars betwixt the *Engliſh* Princes made it difficult for the Biſhops, who could not but ſhare in the circumſtances of the Kingdoms wherein they lived, to act as the ſtate of the Church required; and therefore it is no wonder if our Notices of ſome paſt Years are few, and very imperfect; and, for the moſt part, owing to the Invention of later Ages, and better fitted for Legend than Hiſtory.

SECT. V. But whilſt we have ſo little at home, both our own and Foreign Hiſtories make ſome of the *Engliſh* Clergy memorable for what they did abroad; wherein *Boniface* ſeems juſtly to have deſerved the firſt place: He was born in the *Weſt* of *England*, his proper Name *Winfrid*; and having, by diligent Study, fitted himſelf

Anno 715.

for preaching the Goſpel, about the Year 715 he went into *Frieſland*, where he preached the Goſpel, and, by the Bleſſing of God upon his Labours, he became a great Inſtrument of God's Glory. Some Years after he went into *Germany*, where his Succeſſes were ſo conſiderable, that he was made Archbiſhop of *Mentz*; yet this Prelate, however otherwiſe a good Man, had a mighty daſh of Bigotry, and was a great Inſtrument in introducing the uſurped Authority of the Church of *Rome* amongſt the *Germans*, as well as in their Converſion to the Chriſtian Faith; as will appear in its proper place.

But though this Prelate, from the advantage of his Character, the Services he did for the Church of *Rome*, and the ſhare he had in ſhifting the Crown of *France*, from the *Merovignian* Line to the Family of *Pippin*, and the Changes which that produced, has had the good Fortune to make a great Figure in Story, yet it muſt be added, that the *Germans* have been juſt to the *Engliſh* Nation, and given *Wilfrid*, and *Willebrod*, and his Followers, the Honours they deſerved. *Wilfrid* firſt preach'd the Goſpel to the *Friſians*, inhabiting the Province of *Utrecht*, as we are told from the Writers of their Story, about the Year 687 (*a*).

(*a*) W. Hedæ *Hiſt. Ultraject. pag.* 25.

But *Wilfrid* leaving that Country, the People relapſed to their Idolatry again; while *Willebrod*, with ſome other of the *Northern Engliſh*, as the ſame Hiſtorians relate, being ſent by *Egbert*, Archbiſhop of *York*, arrived in *Frieſland* about the Year 690, (*b*) under the countenance of *Pippin*, King of the *Franks*, was ſo ſucceſsful in his preaching the Goſpel, that he eſtabliſhed a Chriſtian Church, and founded the Biſhoprick of *Utrecht*, and was himſelf the firſt Biſhop thereof (*c*), and was ſucceeded therein by *Boniface* (*d*).

(*b*) *Ejuſdem pag.* 26.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid.

John de Beka (*e*) agrees with the 'foreſaid Writer in all the circumſtances of this Story; and yet, though there are ſome Miſtakes in the circumſtances thereof, there is no doubt but *Wilfrid*, and *Willebrod*, and *Boniface*, were great Inſtruments in the preaching and ſettling the Chriſtian Religion amongſt the People inhabiting about the *Rhine*.

(*e*) *Chron.* 9. *de* Beka *Hiſt. Ultraject. pag.* 8, 9.

Others of the *Engliſh* Clergy, diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their Zeal to bring the *Scots* and *Picts* over to the Catholick *Eaſter* and Eccleſiaſtick Tonſure: Amongſt

theſe

theſe *Egbert* and *Ceolfrid* challenge the firſt place; *Egbert* went on this Errand to *Ireland*, to preach to the *Scots*, and from thence returned to a Colony of the *Scots* in the Iſland of *Hii*, now *Iona*, where *Bede* exceedingly magnifies his Conduct and Succeſs (*a*); and as *Aldhelm* late Biſhop of *Sherborn*, had been employed to bring the *Britons* of *Cornwal*, ſo *Ceolfrid*, Abbot of *Girwy*, now *Jarrow* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, was employed to write, to bring over the Inhabitants of the Northerly parts of *Britain*, then known by the Name of *Picts*.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 22.

And as *Ceolfrid* ſeems to have outdone all that had before wrote upon this Subject, ſo it appears that his Succeſs was anſwerable; and that his Epiſtle to *Naitan*, King of the *Picts*, brought over that People to an Union with the *Engliſh*, in the Rites and Uſages of the *Roman* Church (*b*): But the Labours of the *Engliſh* Clergy were not ſo ſucceſsful againſt the *Britons*.

(*b*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap* 22.

SECT. VI. For notwithſtanding the Writings of the Learned *Aldhelm*, Biſhop of *Sherborn*, the *Britons* yet retained their Animoſity to the *Engliſh*, and their ancient Rites and Uſages (*c*); and were ſo far from coming into the *Engliſh* Eſtabliſhment, that in the Account *Bede* gives of the ſtate of the *Engliſh* Church in the Year 731, he ſays of the *Britons*, that they were as warm and fierce as ever, in oppoſing the Uſages of the whole Catholick Church (*d*); ſo that the formal Story of King *Ina*'s marrying *Guala*, Daughter of *Cadwalder*, a *Britiſh* King, and uniting *Cornwal* and *Wales* by that Marriage, to the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and afterwards calling a Council of the *Engliſh* Biſhops and Nobility, (*e*) wherein the Intermarriages of the *Engliſh* and *Britiſh* were agreed upon, looks like an ill-made Tale, and of a later date, and ſeems to deſerve as little credit, as what is ſaid of the ſubmiſſion of the *Britiſh*, to the Biſhops of *Rome*, or to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as their Metropolitan.

Anno 731.

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 24.

(*d*) Bed. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 24.

(*e*) *Concil. Brit. Tom.* I. *pag.* 219.

And yet there is no doubt to be made but the Biſhops of *Rome* had conſtituted the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, as far as in them lay, Metropolitans of the *Britiſh*, as well as of the *Engliſh* Churches; and done all they could to bring them to a ſubmiſſion to the Sees of *Rome* and *Canterbury*: But this Account of *Bede* ſhews, that an hundred and thirty Years Converſation and Neighbourhood of the Emiſſaries and Friends of the Church of *Rome*,

Rome, had yet made no change in the *Britiſh* Church; but as *Bede* ſaith of them, notwithſtanding the foreſaid Story of *Ina*, that the *Britons* were at this time, for the moſt part of them, a free and independant People (*a*), ſo he obſerves it (*b*), as a particular Providence, that the *Britons*, who refuſed to aſſiſt in the Converſion of the *Engliſh*, were not, by the *Engliſh*, brought over to the Catholick *Eaſter* and Eccleſiaſtick Tonſure; by which, in all the Writings of this Age, is meant the Uſages of the *Roman* Church.

(*a*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 24.
(*b*) Ibid.

On the other hand, that Writer obſerves, that the *Scots* and *Picts*, who had been inſtrumental in the Converſion of the *Engliſh*, were, by the *Engliſh*, generally brought over to the Catholick *Eaſter* (*c*), or, in other words, to Communion with the Church of *Rome*.

(*c*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 23.

In this poſture ſtood the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church, at the Death of *Berthwald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who, after he had filled the Chair thirty ſeven Years, ſix Months, and fourteen Days, died the fifth of the Ides of *January*, in the Year 731 (*d*).

(*d*) Ibid.

Anno 731.

SECT. VII. *Tatwin* ſucceeded in the See of *Canterbury*, a Man of conſiderable Learning, great Probity and Wiſdom (*e*), he was conſecrated at *Canterbury*, *Sunday* the tenth of *June*, after the Death of *Berthwald*, by four Biſhops; and theſe were, *Daniel*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; *Inguald*, Biſhop of *London*; *Aldwin*, Biſhop of *Lichfield*; and *Aldulf*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter* (*f*); and without applying himſelf to *Rome*, for Confirmation, or a Pall, immediately entered upon the diſcharge of his Holy Function.

(*e*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 24.
(*f*) Ibid.

As for his Predeceſſor, he had been conſecrated in *France* (*g*), and not at *Rome*, as *Baronius* (*h*) would have it believed; the reaſon thereof is omitted by *Bede*, but it ſeems moſt probable, it was owing to the Wars amongſt the *Saxon* Princes, in which the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons* under *Ina*, and that of *Kent*, were engaged at the time of *Berthwald*'s Conſecration (*i*).

(*g*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 693. Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 9.
(*h*) Baron. *Annal. Anno* 690.
(*i*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 694.

Bede (*k*) concludes his Hiſtory in this Year, with an Account of the preſent ſtate of the *Engliſh* Churches, wherein there were ſettled, in all, about ſeventeen Biſhopricks, under the Government of one Metropolitan, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; of theſe ſeventeen, the Kingdom of *Kent* had two, *Canterbury* and *Rocheſter*, the former poſſeſſed by *Tatwin*, the later by *Aldulf*; the King-

Anno 731.

(*k*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 24.

the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Saxons* had only one, whoſe See was *London*, and *Inguald* was at this time Biſhop thereof; the *Eaſt-Angles* had two Biſhops, *Eadbert* and *Hadulacus*, the former Biſhop of *Dummock*, the later of *Helman*; the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons* had two Biſhopricks, *Wincheſter* and *Sherborn*, *Daniel* was Biſhop of the former, and *Fothere* of the later; the great Kingdom of the *Mercians* contained five Biſhopricks, and theſe were *Lichfield* and *Leiceſter*, both at this time under the care of *Aldwin*, *Sydnaceſter* or *Lindeſey* was under the government of *Cymbert*; *Worceſter* poſſeſſed by the younger *Wilfrid*; and *Hereford* by *Walſtod*.

The Kingdom of the *South-Saxons* was all within the Dioceſs of *Seolſey*, and at preſent void, and under the care and government of the *Weſt-Saxon* Biſhops: The Kingdom of *Northumberland* had at this time four Biſhopricks, theſe were *York*, where *Wilfrid* the Second held that See; *Lindisfarne*, poſſeſſed by *Edilwald*; and *Hagulſtad*, of which *Acca* was now Biſhop; and *Candida Caſa*, or *Withern*, held by *Pectelmus*, who was the firſt Biſhop of that See, ſince the Conqueſt of that Country by the Kings of *Northumberland*.

SECT. VIII. But whilſt the World is thus obliged by *Bede* with ſo particular an Account of the Biſhops and Dioceſes at this time in *England*; he has left us intirely in the dark, as to the ſtate of the Parochial Clergy; we are indeed told by the Publiſher of his Hiſtory (*a*), from a Manuſcript in *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*, that *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had ſet on foot the building of Churches in Towns and Villages, and begun to diſtinguiſh the Precincts and Bounds thereof, by the Name of Pariſhes; and, for the better encouragement thereof, had obtained a Grant of the *Engliſh* Princes, that ſuch as built Churches within their own Lordſhips, and at their own Charge, ſhould have the Patronage thereof. *Anno* 731.

(*a*) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 8. Ed. Wheeloc. *pag.* 399.

And the Account the *Doomeſday-Book* gives of the State of Pariſh-Churches, at the time of the *Norman* Conqueſt, gives reaſon enough to believe, that the Right of Patronage, had its beginning from the Bounty of thoſe who were Founders of the Churches. And this I take to be the reaſon, why in recounting the Poſſeſſions of the Great Men, in the ſeveral Pariſhes, after an ac-

count of the Hides of Land they poſſeſſed, and the number of their Vaſſals, that Account uſually adds, *Cum Eccleſia*, and frequently, *Cum tertia vel quarta parte Eccleſiæ*, which Note ſeems to direct us, not only to the origine of Patronage, but ſhews us how our Pariſh-Churches begun to be erected, ſome by the ſole Munificence of particular Lords, for the benefit and convenience of their Tenants; others by the united Charities or ſeparate Donations of ſeveral Perſons.

And from hence, as I think, in after-times, aroſe the diviſion of Pariſhes into Medieties, and ſometimes into more Portions, and the Preſentment of diſtinct Patrons to the ſeveral Portions or Medieties. The Learned Author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, carries the ſettlement of Pariſhes ſtill higher then the 'foreſaid Manuſcript, and aſcribes the diviſion of the Province of *Canterbury* to *Honorius* (*a*), who was advanced to that See about the Year 627; but there is ſo little colour for that Opinion, that on the contrary it is demonſtrable, that the Chriſtian Religion was not then perfectly ſettled in the Kingdom of *Kent*; and that of the Countries now within the Province of *Canterbury*, above three parts of four were yet in the ſtate of Paganiſm, till after the Death of *Honorius*.

(*a*) *Antiquit. Britan. Vit.* Honor. *p.* 52.

And though it is evident, that *Auſtin*, *Birinus*, the *Scots* from *Ireland*, and indeed all that were concerned in the Converſion of the *Engliſh*, were careful to encourage the building of Churches for the publick Worſhip of God; yet the total ſilence of *Bede*, in his Hiſtory, compared with the Complaint he afterwards made, in his Epiſtle to *Egbert*, Biſhop of *York*, of the want of a Clergy ſettled in Towns and Villages, and what he ſays in his Hiſtory, of the Clergies never appearing in Country Towns and Villages, but when called thither to diſcharge ſome Offices of their Holy Function, afford ſufficient ground to believe, that there is a Miſtake in what is ſaid of *Theodore*'s dividing *England* into Pariſhes.

But, on the contrary, it ſeems highly probable, that the diſtinction of Pariſhes, if begun before this time, had hitherto made but a very little progreſs; and that thoſe few Churches which were erected in Towns and Villages, were Chappels, or auxiliary Churches to the Mother Churches of the reſpective Dioceſſes, rather than pro-

proper Pariſh-Churches, and had not fixed and ſettled Presbyters therein, but were generally ſupplied from thoſe Collegiate Societies, which at this time paſſed under the general Name of Monaſteries; and that theſe Foundations ſo exhauſted the Charity of the Age as to ſtop the progreſs of Parochial Inſtitutions, and thereby obſtruct the trueſt Intereſts of Religion and Holineſs.

SECT. IX. Thus much is certain, that the fond Opinions of the Monaſtick or Collegiate Life, which prevail'd ſo much amongſt the *Engliſh* in the laſt Century, were grown to ſuch exceſs in the beginning of this, that the miſchief thereof, both to the Church and State, was become ſo viſible, that *Bede*, who had been bred therein, and had all poſſible eſteem for thoſe Inſtitutions, complains of the number and abuſe of thoſe Societies, and of the prevalence of the Monaſtick Humour, in ſuch Terms as would doubtleſs have expoſed him to the cenſures of want of Devotion, and taſte of the Seraphick Joys of Solitude and Contemplation, or it may be to the reproach of a Scoffer or a Heretick, had he happen'd to live in the preſent Age; or had had the Adverſary of the late Learned Biſhop of *Worceſter* to deal with. *Anno* 735.

For in the Year 731 *Bede* thus ſpeaks of this Affair; *Peace being eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, *both the Nobility and the Common People laying aſide the exerciſe of their Arms, betook themſelves to Monaſteries, and perſwaded their Children to accept the Eccleſiaſtick Tonſure, and retire thither too (a). But whither this will tend time muſt ſhew (b).* And a little time ſo confirm'd the truth of that, which there was but too much reaſon to fear, that in his Epiſtle to *Egbert*, Biſhop of *York*, wrote about the Year 735, this Holy Monk ſpeaking of the multitudes who ran into Monaſteries, thus expreſſes himſelf; *For thirty Years paſt our Country hath been infatuated with this mad error (c).* And in terms very paſſionate and full of concern, recommends the leſſening the number of Monaſteries, and increaſing the number of Biſhops and Secular Clergy, to preach God's Holy Word in Country Towns and Villages (*d*).

(a) Bedæ *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* 5. *cap.* 24.
(b) Ibid.
(c) Bed. *Epiſt. ad* Egbert *pag.* 261.
(d) *Ejuſdem pag.* 255.

For, ſaith he, there are many Villages in the woody and mountainous parts, which for many Years never ſaw the Face of a Biſhop, and have none to inſtruct them in the common Principles of Religion or Morality,

lity, and yet there is no place but what pays Tribute to their Biſhop (*a*). And in particular, he deſires of that Biſhop, that his Clergy ſhould take care to teach the People the Apoſtle's Creed, and Lord's Prayer in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and ſays, That for that end he himſelf had tranſlated them into *Engliſh*, and given Copies thereof into the hands of ſeveral of the Clergy (*b*).

(*a*) *Ejuſdem, pag.* 256.

(*b*) *Ejuſdem, pag.* 255.

Anno 735. SECT. X. But, to perfect this great Work, he tells *Egbert*, that he thought nothing ſo likely as to increaſe the number of Biſhops, and adviſes, that for that end this Prelate, with the Advice of *Ceolwulf*, King of *Northumberland*, and his Council, ſhould erect ſeveral new Biſhopricks; and that, in order thereunto, they ſhould take ſeveral of the Monaſteries, and in them erect the new Sees (*c*); and that, by this means, *York*, according to the ancient Platform of *Gregory the Great*, might be erected into a Metropolitical See (*d*); and, if need require, he directs, they ſhould take the Lands belonging to other Monaſteries: Thus, ſaith he, *thoſe Houſes, of which we all know there are many unworthy the Name of Monaſteries, from ſerving the ends of Vanity and Luxury, may be brought to aſſiſt and bear a part in the burthen of the Epiſcopal Office* (*e*).

(*c*) Bed. *Epiſt. ad* Egbert. *pag.* 259.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

And the better to engage *Egbert* in this Work, he adds, *There are many and very great Foundations of this kind, which, as is commonly ſaid, are neither profitable to God nor Men; for in them Men are neither trained to live regularly, as Monks, for the Honour of God, nor brought up to Arms to defend their Country. And to take ſuch Places and convert to Biſhops Sees, is ſo far from being a fault, that it is a great inſtance of Wiſdom and Vertue; for how can it be unjuſt, for ſome Princes to imploy the miſtaken Charities of others to better Purpoſes* (*f*): *But if it be a fault, it is juſt ſuch a fault, as it is for a wiſe Judge to reverſe a wrong Judgment, or a good Clerk to correct the Errors of a bad Scribe.*

(*f*) Ibid.

And to preſs this Obligation ſtill more cloſely upon that Prelate, *Bede* tells *Egbert*, it was *his Duty, together with the King, to make ſuch Regulations of theſe Societies, as might be moſt for the honour of God and good of their Country, leſt by the encreaſe of theſe Societies, the force of the Kingdom ſhould be ſo weakened, that there ſhould not be ſufficient ſtrength to ſecure it from the invaſion of Enemies.*

mies (*a*). And which is ſtill very obſervable, through the whole Scheme, though ſome Monaſteries were to be diſſolved, others to be converted to Epiſcopal Sees, ſeveral new Biſhopricks to be erected, others to be divided: *Bede* ſends this Prelate no farther than to the King and his Council (*b*), and ſpeaks of their Conduct therein, in ſuch a manner as plainly ſhews, he knew of no neceſſity of calling in a Foreign Power to their Aid.

(a) *Ejuſdem, pag.* 260.

(b) *Ejuſdem, pag.* 259.

SECT. XI. But becauſe in a little compaſs of time, we hear of about nine or ten of the *Engliſh* Kings going to *Rome*, or retiring, and taking the habit of Monks at home: And the Princeſſes which took the ſame courſe, are more numerous; ſo that it has been obſerved by a very judicious Antiquary, that in the compaſs of two hundred and twenty Years about thirty of the *Engliſh Saxon* Kings and Queens retired from the World (*c*).

Anno 735.

(c) *Præfat. ad Monaſt. Ang. Vol.* I.

And this has been magnified, as the wonderful effects of the Religion and Holineſs the Church of *Rome* had taught the *Engliſh*; and has made a mighty ſubject for the Legendary Writers, and furniſhed the Advocates of that Church with very popular Arguments.

And the *Benedictines*, as the earlieſt Order now prevailing in the Weſtern Nations, are very paſſionate in their Claim, to the merit of theſe extraordinary Examples of Holineſs and Devotion; and yet, it may be, neither that Order, or the Church of *Rome*, will have any great reaſon to value themſelves upon this ground, if we compare what *Bede* ſaith of the Monaſtery of St. *Martin*'s at *Withern*, founded in honour of that Saint, by St. *Ninian*, the firſt Converter of the *Southern Picts*, (*d*) with the undeniable grounds we have to believe, that the Monaſtery of *Hy*, erected by *Columba*, the Converter of the *Northern Picts*, followed the Inſtitution of St. *Martin* (*e*); and that all the North and Midland parts of *England*, who received their Converſion from the *Iriſh Scots*, who had been bred in that Monaſtery, univerſally followed the ſame Order and Inſtitution, (*f*) and that theſe Foundations were generally eſtabliſhed long before *Wilfrid*, Biſhop of *York*, introduced the Order of St. *Bennet*, there will appear little ground for the pretenſions of the *Benedictines*.

(d) Bed. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 4.

(e) Bp. Worc. *Hiſt. Account Ch. Governm. Chap.* 7. *Sect.* 5.

(f) Ibid.

And if we add to this, that theſe Foundations, and the Clergy bred there, and the *Engliſh* converted by them,

them, for near fourſcour Years after the coming of *Auſtin*, held no Communion with the Church of *Rome*, or thoſe *Engliſh* who had received their Converſion from thence; but, on the contrary, oppoſed the Rites and Uſages of that Church; and that many of the 'foreſaid great Examples of Retirement were at the head of the Oppoſers, and particularly *Hilda*, Abbeſs of *Streanſhal*, and Neece to *Egwin*, King of *Northumberland*; and whoſe Piety and Conduct are ſo magnified by *Bede*, was preſent at the Synod of *Streanſhal*, as an Aſſiſtant and Patron of thoſe who oppoſed the Rites of the *Romiſh* Church, it will exceedingly leſſen the Glory the late Writers of that Communion pretend to derive from theſe Examples.

And for the Examples of this kind, after the Year 680, about which time the *Engliſh* began generally to receive the Rites of the *Romiſh* Church, *Bede*, who was then in being, and lived above fifty Years after, gives us an account that ſeems much better fitted to mortifie, rather than brighten the Merits of any Party.

There are ſome Men, ſaith he, *who under pretence of building Monaſteries, buy Lands from their Kings, which become their Inheritances, and having obtained exemptions thereof from all ſecular Services, here they more quietly enjoy their Luſts: Theſe being married Perſons ſometimes keep Company with their Wives, ſometimes inſpect the Affairs of their Monks: As on the other hand, their Wives take their turns, ſometimes their Husbands and their Children, and ſometimes the Nuns, are the ſubject of their Care. This Miſchief has been growing upon us this thirty Years, and ſo prevails, that there is ſcarce a Governour of a Province, that during his Government does not obtain ſuch a Monaſtery for himſelf, and the like for his Wife.* (a)

(a) Bed. *Epiſt. ad* Egbert. *pag.* 260, 261.

And ſo many were the Inſtances of this kind, that the ſame Author adds, *Innumeri ſint inventi qui ſe Abbates pariter, & præfectos, ſive miniſtros, & famulos regis appellant. They are very numerous who at once pretend to be Abbots and Governours of Provinces* (b). And in another place he makes the Corruption ſtill more general, and ſaith, *That notwithſtanding the multitude of Monaſteries, there were not places fit for the Education of the young Nobility, or for Men that were tired of the World to retire to; but thoſe that deſign to ſpend their Youth in Chaſtity, are forced to go abroad for Education, to the prejudice of their Coun-*

(b) Ibid.

Country, which wants their Service: And that those educated therein being under no Vows of Chastity, run into such excesses, that they debauch the very Women who have vowed Chastity to God (a). Nor is there any ground to believe, that the Corruptions of these Societies were ever reformed, till they were involved in the common Calamities of the Nation; for after the Death of *Bede*, and not long before the Depredations of the *Danes*, in the Epistles of *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, to *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, and *Cuthbert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that Prelate not only takes notice of a prevailing Debauchery in the *English* Nation in general, but gives a great share thereof to the Religious; and not only saith, that the Nuns were commonly debauch'd by the Nobility, but adds, that the Nuns, by the luxury and wantonness of their Attire and Behaviour, invited their own Shame, and made use of Arts to prepare the way to their own dishonour (*b*). And the truth of this Charge was then so well known, that the reforming of these horrible Corruptions, seems to be one of the chief reasons for convening the Council of *Clovishoe*, which met in the Year 747.

(a) Ibid.

(b) Concil. Tom. 6. Lab. Col. 1573.

SECT. XII. These that I have mention'd are but some few of the many severe Reflections made by *Bede* and *Boniface*, on some of the Monasticks and Monasteries of this Age, which I have inserted here, not to cast a reproach on those Institutions in general, for doubtless there were some of them which answered the primitive end of such Foundations. And the Piety and Learning of *Bede*, the Holy Man from whom we have this Account, and who was educated and spent his whole Life in these Societies, will be reason enough to satisfie every considering Man, that some of them were very great and useful Schools of Learning and Vertue; and indeed, the only Nurseries of Learning the *English* Nation was acquainted with, and which is more, those celebrated Foundations which are at this Day both an Honour and a Blessing to the *English* Nation, took their Pattern hence, and had their beginning in this or the following Age, and probably in some of the 'foresaid Collegiate Bodies.

Anno 735.

But I have inserted these Reflections, partly to shew how fatally Men mistake, who pretend to Zeal and Holiness out of the ways of God, and partly, because they

they not only afford us a proſpect of the Age, but give great Light into thoſe which followed. Here we ſee, how it came to paſs, that the Monaſteries were generally poſſeſſed by married Men, when the Controverſy about the marriage of the Clergy broke forth. Here we ſee, that the Parochial Clergy were yet unſettled, and are furniſhed with the reaſon why thoſe Inſtitutions went on ſo ſlowly: It may be here too we have a Key to the Retirement of ſo many *Engliſh* Princes.

Here we ſee, how Monaſteries became Hereditary, and the Scheme laid for the increaſing the number of the Northern Biſhopricks, does in the ſame view ſhew us the Biſhop of *York*, in a private ſtation, at the time of writing the 'foreſaid Epiſtle, and the ground upon which that Prelate was afterwards advanced to the ſtate of a Metropolitan. And one who looks backward, and ſees what proof the *Engliſh* had given of their Courage, in the Conqueſt of the *Britons*; and what a Figure the *Saxons* abroad did at this time make, in their Wars with the *Franks* (*a*); what mighty Reputation for their Arms, the *Cimbrians*, their Anceſtors, poſſeſt in their long Wars with the *Romans*, and yet what a poor defence the *Engliſh* made againſt the *Danes*, which about this time began their Depredations upon *England*, would almoſt be perſwaded to think, that *Bede* had propheſied, rather than ſpoke his Fears of the Dangers which threatned the State, from the fond Humour which led ſuch numbers of the Nobility and People, to bury themſelves in Monaſteries.

(*a*) Valeſii *rerum Francicar. Tom.* 3. *pag.* 498.

Nor was the danger to the State, from theſe Inſtitutions, a thought peculiar to the *Engliſh* Nation, but it ſeems very probable, that this was the chief ground of that unhumane treatment the Monks and Nuns met with under *Conſtantine Copronimus* the Emperor, in the later end of this Century; for he not only required the Monks and Nuns to marry, but, as *Eutropius* ſaith (*b*), put out the Eyes, and then baniſhed ſeveral of thoſe who refuſed it.

(*b*) Eutropii *rerum Roman. Lib.* 22. *p.* 317.

Anno 736. SECT. XIII. The 'foreſaid Epiſtle of *Bede* was wrote thirty Years after the Death of *Alcfred*, King of *Northumberland*, who died in the Year 705, and therefore muſt needs be wrote the later end of the laſt, or the beginning of this Year, in which *Bede* died; and indeed it appears in the beginning of this Epiſtle, that he was languiſhing under

under the Aſtmatick Diſtemper, of which he died when he wrote this Epiſtle (*a*); and therefore the Learned Mr. *Wharton*, in his Notes on this Epiſtle, well calls it his *Cygnea Cantio*, or the laſt Performance of that Holy Man.

(*a*) Bed. *Epiſt. ad* Egbert. *pag.* 252.

And indeed there is ſome thing in it, which looks like the laſt effort of a Holy and Good Man, whoſe Converſation was in Heaven. But the Writer of his Life rather thinks the tranſlation of the Holy Goſpel of St. *John* into *Engliſh* to be his laſt Work (*b*), a deſign that ſhews ſuch a true ſenſe of a juſt Zeal for God, and the good of Souls, as ought to make ſome attonement for the Follies and Superſtition of the Age; a Service the Divine Goodneſs ſeems to have owned, and abundantly repay'd, in the particular and diſtinguiſhing Mercies with which he put a period to the Life of that great and excellent Perſon.

(*b*) Dunelm. *Ann.* 735. X. *Scriptor. Col.* 8. Uſſerii *Annal.* XV. *Scriptor. pag.* 152.

For God vouchſafed to the Holy Man a Happineſs that deſerves, and ought to bound the nobleſt Ambition of good Men; and this was, to continue dictating to his Scholars, and doing ſomething towards bettering an ignorant Age, till a very few Days before his Death. He was born in the Year 677, and died in the fifty ninth Year of his Age, and in the Year 736, after he had wrote more than all the Writers of the Age beſides: And whether it was the Life and Spirit this Great Man gave to the *Engliſh* Nation, or the emulation betwixt the Schools planted by the *Scots*, and thoſe erected by Archbiſhop *Theodore*, and the Controverſy yet freſh in the *Engliſh* Churches; or to what other cauſe we ought to aſcribe the Spirit of Learning, which at this time prevailed, it is not eaſy to determine. But to whatever Cauſe it is to be aſcribed, it is evident, that the remains we have of the concluſion of the laſt, and the beginning of this Century, have a taſte of Learning that is no where elſe to be met with in the *Engliſh* Writers before the *Norman* Conqueſt.

But the Writings of *Aldhelm*, Biſhop of *Sherborn*; of *Ceolfrid*, Abbot of *Jarrow*, and Tutor to *Bede*; and thoſe of *Egbert*, Biſhop of *York*, and *Eddius*, and *Bede*, who all lived in the latter-end of the laſt, and the beginning of this Age, ſo exhauſted the *Genius* of the *Engliſh* Nation, that except *Alcuinus* and *Clemens*, who were bred

under *Egbert*, not long after *Bede*, and who did, in the later end of this, and the beginning of the next Age, make ſo great a Figure in *France*, we find nothing like it in the ſucceeding Ages, till the *Norman* Invaſion brought the Spirit of this Age to Life again.

Till then our Hiſtorians are ſo few, and their Accounts ſo imperfect, not to ſay fabulous, that all the light we have into the later part of the eighth Century, the ninth, the tenth, and the eleventh, is chiefly owing to the Hiſtorians of the twelfth and thirteenth Age, a light ſo remote from the Matters of Fact, ſo often clouded, and at beſt wavering and uncertain, that one cannot enter into this dark Story, but as *Moſes* did the Cloud, with Fear and Confuſion.

CHAP. XI.

Ab Anno 736 ad Annum 753.

SECT. I. YOrk *made an Archbiſhop's See. Biſhopricks North of* Humber *ſubject to it.* Egbert *the firſt Archbiſhop. Difference about the time of that erection.*

II. *Erecting of that See aſcribed by our Hiſtorians to a Pall from* Rome. *Senſe of Pope* Innocent *the Third, and the latter Canoniſts, of the Vertue and Power thereof: Fond things ſaid on that Subject. The ill uſe the Biſhops of* Rome *made of the Pall.*

III. *The ſenſe the ancient Church of* Rome *had of the Pall. The Character of an Archbiſhop not thought conferred thereby. Eſteemed in the time of* Gregory *the Great, only an Honorary Badge.*

IV. *The original of this Uſage from the Empire, made a Mark of Honour amongſt Churchmen: Uſually worn by the* Grecian *Biſhops: Firſt given by the Emperors: Given by the Biſhops of* Rome *by the Emperor's leave. The Pall ſent to* Egbert, *only as a Mark of eſteem.* York *erected into an Archiepiſcopal See, by the King, and Biſhops of* Northumberland.

V. *Biſhops of Metropolitical Cities, have an Archiepiſcopal Right from the Canons, without any Act of the*

Biſhops

Biſhops of Rome. *Caſe of* Egbert, *Archbiſhop of* York. *Senſe of the* French *Biſhops, and Biſhop of* Rome *of the Pall. The Metropolitical Power older than the uſe of the Pall in the Church.*

VI. *Church of* England *not ſubject to that of* Rome: *Aſſerts its own freedom: This occaſioned by a Council of* Boniface, *Archbiſhop of* Mentz.

VII. *Metropolitical Power invaded by* Boniface, *contrary to the Canons of the univerſal Church: Reſented and oppoſed by the* French *Biſhops: Miſchief thereof to the Weſtern Churches: Firſt Legantine Council owing to the Ambition of* Charles Martel.

VIII. *Zeal of* Boniface *for the Authority of the Biſhops of* Rome: *Occaſions calling the Council of* Cloveſhoe.

IX. *Proceedings of the Council of* Cloveſhoe: *Canons thereof oppoſe thoſe of* Boniface: *Define the Unity of the Church, contrary to* Boniface, *and the ſenſe of the* Romiſh *Church: Aſſerts the Power of Provincial Synods final.*

X. *Grounds of this Proceeding enquired into, wherein the occaſion of calling the Council of* Sardice.

XI. *Difference betwixt the Eaſtern and Weſtern Biſhops therein: Canons in favour of the Biſhops of* Rome, *and their pretended Right to Appeals.*

XII. *The ſame conſidered: Appeals not founded therein.*

XIII. *The difference betwixt Rehearing and an Appeal. This Council conſiſtent with the Council of* Nice.

XIV. Sardice *not a General Council: Rejected by the* Greek *Church. True ground of the late Doctrine of Appeals.*

XV. *Appeals to* Rome *not allowed by the Churches of* England, *in the beginning of the Twelfth Century.*

XVI. *This Council of* Cloveſhoe *appoints the Feſtivals of* Gregory *and* Auſtin: *That the Creed and Lord's-Prayer ſhould be learned in the* Engliſh *Tongue.*

XVII. *Monſieur* Du Pin's *Judgment of this Council: The Grounds thereof: A Copy of it ſent to* Boniface, *Archbiſhop of* Mentz. Boniface *is murdered.*

SECT. I. FRom the Union of the *Engliſh* Churches under *Theodore*, till about this time, all that part of *Britain* which was poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*, had *Annis* 736. 737.

had been one Province, and had no other Metropolitans but the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*: And thoſe Prelates, beſides the Conceſſions of the *Engliſh* Princes, recognized by the Biſhops of *Rome*, by an Uſage of above fifty Years continuance, begun now to have Preſcription on their ſides: Yet about this time that Province of *Canterbury* was divided, and a new Metropolitan ſet up at *York*, and all the Biſhopricks within the Kingdom of *Northumberland* laid into this new Province.

Egbert, a deſcendant from the Royal Family of *Northumberland*, and no leſs conſiderable for his Learning and perſonal Merit, ſucceeded *Wilfrid* the Second in the See of *York*, in the Year 735. And upon this ground our Hiſtorians generally place this foreſaid Change the ſame Year; and generally run away with an Opinion, that *Egbert* receiving a Pall from *Gregory* the Third, Biſhop of *Rome*, he was, by vertue of that Pall, conſtituted Metropolitan in the Year 735. But it appears by the Epiſtle of *Bede* to this Prelate, that *York* was not erected into an Archbiſhoprick when that Epiſtle was wrote, and it is manifeſt, that that Epiſtle was wrote thirty Years after the Death of King *Alfred*, who died in the Year 705, and bears date the Nones of *November*, the third Year of the Indiction, which falls in the Year 735.

And which is more, it ſeems probable, by ſeveral Expreſſions in that Epiſtle, that the Change was not yet in agitation, and that it ſhould be ſet a foot, and by a Pall from *Rome*, eſtabliſhed betwixt the Nones of *November* and the end of the Year, ſeems utterly impoſſible; for which reaſons, the erecting of the Archiepiſcopal See of *York* has its place in this Year, and not in the preceeding. And the ground of this Change, commonly aſſigned by our Hiſtorians, ſeems as little agreeable to truth, as the circumſtances of this Story.

Anno 737. SECT. II. For our Hiſtorians, to whom we owe the Account of this Affair, did, for the moſt part of them, live after the Uſurpations of the Biſhops of *Rome* had gained much upon the Weſtern Church; and therefore ſometimes ſpeak of the Tranſactions of this, according to the Maxims and Rules of Diſcipline, which prevailed in the Ages wherein they lived; and commonly aſcribe raiſing *York* to the Dignity of an Archiepiſcopal See, to the Pall which *Egbert* received from *Gregory* the Third, Biſhop

Biſhop of *Rome*: And becauſe this Error uſually paſſes upon the World, it may not be amiſs to enquire into the grounds of that Opinion.

Thus much is evident, that in the Decretals collected, or at leaſt publiſhed by the appointment of Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, in the beginning of the Twelfth Century, the World is abundantly furniſhed with Accounts of the nature, vertue, neceſſity of the Pall, and of the time, manner, and circumſtances of uſing of it; where it is decreed, that an Archbiſhop, till he had received his Pall from the Biſhop of *Rome*, could not call a Council, bleſs the Chriſm, conſecrate Churches, ordain a Clerk, or conſecrate a Biſhop (*a*); and that before any Archbiſhop received his Pall, he ſhould ſwear Fidelity to the Biſhop of *Rome* (*b*).

(*a*) *Decretal. Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 6. *cap.* 28.

(*b*) *Decretal. Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 6. *cap.* 4.

But when the uſurpation of that Court was come to its full growth under Pope *Innocent* the Third, that Prelate, in the Council of *Lateran*, *Anno* 1215, attempted to impoſe this Uſage on the univerſal Church, and in particular on the Eaſtern Patriarchs; and by a Canon from thence tranſcribed into the Decretals, he decreed the Pall to be a mark and enſign of the plenitude of Apoſtolick Power; and that neither the Function, or ſo much as the Title of Archbiſhop were to be aſſumed without it (*c*); and this not only in caſe of a private Biſhop, raiſed to the ſtate of an Archbiſhop, but in caſes of poſtulation, where an Archbiſhop was removed from one Archbiſhoprick to another (*d*).

(*c*) *Decretal. Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 8. *cap.* 3.

(*d*) *Decretal. Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 8. *cap.* 4.

And yet, whilſt it was required, that on the tranſlation of an Archbiſhop, he ſhould not carry his Pall away with him, but demand a new one, by another Canon it was determined, that his Succeſſor ſhould make no uſe of the Pall he left behind; and by another, that every Archbiſhop ſhould be buried in his Pall. By theſe ways the Church of *Rome* did, in time, raiſe a mighty Revenue: And that Court was ſo careful to make the beſt uſe of the Advantages they had gained, by the Opinion they had thus induſtriouſly ſpread, that from the Reign of *Innocent* the Third downward, all our Hiſtories are very full of the Oppreſſions and moſt horrible Abuſes and Exactions, which were the conſequences of theſe Doctrines.

Theſe bold inſults (to ſay no worſe) on the Rights and Authority of the whole Catholick Church, have given

occaſion to ſome to aſcribe the raiſing of *York* to the ſtate of a Metropolis, to the Pall that *Egbert* received from *Rome*.

Anno 737. SECT. III. But if we look a little backwarder into the upper part of the Law received by the Church of *Rome*, it will appear, that the ancient Sentiments that Church had of this Affair, were very different from thoſe taught by the Decretals. There is a Decree aſcribed to *Pelagius* the Second, wherein the Metropolitans, ſubject to the See of *Rome*, are required to ſend their Profeſſions, and demand their Palls within three Months after their Conſecration (*a*). But *Monſieur du Pin* makes no mention of this Decretal, amongſt the genuine Works of that Prelate; and allows the Antiquity only of ſuch of the Decretals aſcribed to him, as are inſerted in the fifth Tome of *Labbe*'s Collection of the Councils (*b*), amongſt which this Decretal is not to be found.

(*a*) *Decret. Part* I. *Diſtinct.* 100. *cap.* 1.

(*b*) Du Pin's *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent.* 6. *pag.* 66.

Was there no other reaſon, this is ground enough to give this Work a place amongſt the Forgeries of the latter Ages. But *Gregory the Great*, who was a Deacon under *Pelagius* the Second, and by whom ſeveral of the Epiſtles aſcribed to *Pelagius* are thought to be written, in his Epiſtle to *Brunichild*, a Queen of the *Franks*, inſerted in the Collection of *Gratian*, immediately after the foreſaid Decretal aſcribed to *Pelagius* (*c*), ſaith, that the ancient Uſage of the Church of *Rome*, had been to grant the Pall to none but Perſons of great Merit, and to them only upon their earneſt Sollicitation and Intreaty, which ſhews, there was no ſuch Decree as that aſcribed to *Pelagius*; for nothing could be more contradictory, than to ſay, that the Cuſtom was never to yield that favour but to great Merit and Sollicitation, if every Metropolitan was obliged to come and demand it, and could not diſcharge his Duty without it.

(*c*) *Decret. Part* I. *Diſtinct.* 100. *cap.* 2.

On the other hand it is evident from that Epiſtle, that in the time of *Gregory*, the giving of the Pall was eſteem'd at *Rome* no more than an honorary recognition of the Title and Merit of the Perſon on whom it was beſtowed; but it was never pretended, or ſo much as thought, that this Badge conferred the Character of Archbiſhop; or that it raiſed a private Biſhop to the Dignity of a Metropolitan; no, this was a direct contradiction both to the Doctrine and Canons of the Catholick Church, and would

would have been adjudged Hereſy, had an Opinion of of this kind been broached in thoſe Days; at leaſt it could not have paſſed uncenſured.

SECT. IV. This Uſage was originally derived from the Empire; and the Pall, a badge of Honour, firſt given by the Emperors to Philoſophers, and Men of Learning, as a habit to diſtinguiſh thoſe who had made the greateſt proficiency in Arts and Sciences; and in effect, no more than the Robes and diſtinction of habit, which, as Rewards of Learning and Induſtry, are cuſtomarily given to the Profeſſors of Divinity, Law, and Arts. And under this notion, *Tertullian* ſpeaks of it in his Book *de Pallio* (*a*); and we hear of ſeveral of the Philoſophers, who, after their Converſion, continued the uſe of the Pall. *Anno* 737.

(*a*) Tertullian *de Pallio. pag.* 624. *Ed.* Baſil. 1528.

From this Uſage in the Schools of Philoſophers, it was derived into the Church, and by the Emperors made a Mark of Honour and Diſtinction amongſt Churchmen; and therefore *Iſidore*, an Archbiſhop of *Spain*, who was cotemporary with *Gregory the Great*, defines the Pall, *Amiculum quod ſacerdos humeris geſtat ex lanâ, non ex lino contextum* (*b*), a little Cloak or ſhort Garment made of Wool, and not of Linen, worn by the Prieſt; and ſaith, that not only Metropolitans, but Biſhops of *Greece*, uſually wore this Garment. And the laſt Canon of the Council of *Conſtantinople*, held in the Year 870, confirms this his aſſertion: But at the firſt introducing of it into the Church it was beſtowed ſparingly, and given chiefly as a Mark of Diſtinction betwixt a Metropolitan and a private Biſhop.

(*b*) Richerii *Hiſtor. Concil. Lib.* 1. *p.* 721.

Thus when the Emperor *Valentinian* did, in the Year 432, raiſe the Church of *Ravenna* to the ſtate of an Archbiſhoprick, he granted *John*, the Archbiſhop thereof, the uſe of the Pall (*c*). And when *Anthimus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, was depoſed, he is ſaid to come and deliver up his Pall to the Emperor (*d*). And *Eutropius* ſaith the ſame thing of *Germanus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who receded from his Biſhoprick in the Controverſy about the Worſhip of Images, that having laid down that Truſt, he came to the Emperor *Leo* and depoſited his Pall (*e*).

(*c*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 432.

(*d*) Richerii *Hiſt. Concil. Lib.* 1. *p.* 723.

(*e*) Eutropii *Hiſt. Roman. Lib.* 21. *p.* 296.

And when *Anaſtaſius*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, was at *Rome*, *Gregory the Great* did himſelf Petition the Emperor *Mau-*

Mauritius, to grant to *Anaſtaſius* the uſe of the Pall (*a*). From this Uſage the Biſhops of *Rome* took their Pattern; and upon the declining of the Empire aſſumed the liberty to give this Mark of Honour and Diſtinction; but it was ſtill with ſubmiſſion to the Emperor. And therefore, when *Brunichild*, a Queen of the *Franks*, deſired a Pall of *Gregory the Great* for *Syagrius* Biſhop of *Autun*, before he would grant it, he ſent his Deacon to *Conſtantinople*, to ask the Emperor's leave; and when he ſent the Pall, he told that Princeſs it was the Emperor's pleaſure, that a Pall ſhould be granted, and therefore he had ſent one (*b*).

(*a*) Richerii *Hiſt. Concil. Lib.* 1. *p.* 723.

(*b*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 7. *Epiſt.* 5.

How early the Biſhops of *Rome* took up this Uſage does not appear, but the earlieſt Account that can be relied on, is from the Epiſtles of *Gregory the Great*, whoſe Account thereof, compared with the original of this Uſage, puts it beyond all doubt, that in *Gregory*'s Time, the giving of the Pall was intended only as a Mark of Honour and Reſpect. And if we look no further than the Proofs we have in this Age, from the Form made uſe of by Pope *Zachary*, in erecting *Mentz* into an Archbiſhoprick (*c*); and what that Pope ſaith in his Epiſtle to *Boniface*, the new Archbiſhop thereof, of the three other Palls he had deſired for three Perſons who had before been made Archbiſhops (*d*), it will be evident, that the importance and operation of this Rite were yet thought the ſame as in *Gregory*'s Days; and that the Pall ſent to *Egbert*, Archbiſhop of *York*, was not to make that Prelate an Archbiſhop, or erect an Archbiſhoprick, but was intended as an Honorary Recognition of the Character that Prelate was before poſſeſſed of, and of the Dignity the See of *York* was by the King and Church of *Northumberland* advanced unto.

(*c*) *Concil. Tom.* 6. Lab. *Col.* 1527.

(*d*) *Concil. Tom.* 6. Lab. *Col.* 1503.

Anno 737. SECT. V. And if *Baronius* be not willing to allow the Authority of a King of *England*, any more than that of the Emperor in the foreſaid Inſtance of *Ravenna*, a Great Man of the ſame Communion ſays, that no one, unleſs very ignorant of Hiſtory, can deny, that the Emperors made many Metropolies (*e*), that is, erected private Sees to the ſtate of Archbiſhopricks. And *Balſamon*, who was never thought an Enemy to the Biſhops of *Rome*, places the erecting of Biſhopricks and Archbiſhopricks amongſt the common and undoubted Rights of Princes (*f*); and

(*e*) Richerii *Hiſt. Concil. Lib.* 1. *p.* 722.

(*f*) P. de Marc. *Concord. Sacer. & Imperii Tom.* 1. *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 8. *pag.* 77.

and indeed, all that will allow what one would think no body could deny, *viz.* that Sovereign Princes and National Churches have power to execute the Canons of the universal Church within themselves, and consider the original of the Metropolitical Power, and the Canons that relate to it; that those Canons require, that all the Bishops of the inferior Cities should own the Authority of the Bishops of the chief Cities of their respective Provinces, and found the government of the Church by Metropolitans, on the subordination and superiority of Cities; and that some Churches of *Africa* only excepted, where the Authority of Metropolitan is not fixed, but follows the seniority of Consecration (*a*), this Discipline was universally received by the ancient Church, they must conclude, that the Honour of a Metropolis, and the Character of an Archbishop, do not depend on any act or authority of the Bishops of *Rome:* And even in *Africa* it self, which affords the only Exception to this General Rule, the Church of *Carthage* owed its Primacy to the Dignity of that City.

(*a*) Du Pin *de Antiqua Eccl. Disciplin. pag.* 27.

But, on the contrary, that Princes have the same Right to confer those Honours, as to improve and build in waste Countries, and give precedence to the Cities which they build. And the ninth Canon of the Council of *Hertford*, in which it is determined, that new Bishopricks should be erected in *England*, according as Christianity prevail'd therein, shews plainly, the sense of the *English* Churches, as to the competence of its own Authority, with the consent of their Princes, to divide Bishopricks, and erect new ones as occasion served.

This was the case of our new Metropolitan, he had all the Right to his Character the Authority of the Catholick Church could give him, before he received his Pall from *Rome:* And, were this a place for it, it would easily be made appear, that all the succeeding Archbishops of *England*, for near four hundred Years after, and even *Lanfranc*, *Anselm*, and *Radulphus* in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, acted upon this belief, and perform'd all the Functions of the Archiepiscopal Office before they receiv'd their Palls. And *Laurentius* and *Mellitus*, before this time, and many after, who never had any Pall, yet were doubtless as truly Archbishops as

thoſe who had: And *Paulinus*, who had a Pall, lived and died a private Biſhop.

Nor was this the caſe of *England* only, but there were many Metropolitans in *France*, whoſe Sees, till the time of Pope *Zachary* in the midſt of the Eighth Century, had never had a Pall (*a*), and yet the Biſhops thereof were as truly Metropolitans before, as they were afterwards: And when they were brought to receive Palls from the Biſhops of *Rome*, they were ſo far from believing they received any new Power from them, that *Hickman*, Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, told Pope *Nicholas*, that his Pall conferred no Authority upon him, but what he was before poſſeſſed of from the Canons of the Catholick Church (*b*). And this was ſo generally believed in *France*, that the ſame Author ſaith, the Metropolitans of *France*, did, from the time of their Conſecration, without expecting Palls, immediately enter upon their Truſts (*c*).

(*a*) De Marca *Concord. Sacer. & Imper. Lib. 6. cap. 7.*

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) De Marca *Concord. Sacer. & Imper. Lib. 6. cap. 6. ſect. 1.*

And it is manifeſt, that the Biſhops of *Rome* had, long after this, the ſame thoughts of the Pall that all the reſt of Chriſtendom had; for Pope *Adrian*, who came to the Papacy about the Year 772, in his Epiſtle to *Berthorius*, Archbiſhop of *Vienne* in *France*, tells that Prelate, A Metropolis ſuffers no prejudice by it, if I, or my Predeceſſor, have, at the deſire of the Dukes of *France*, granted a Pall to any Suffragan Biſhop. And when the *Engliſh* Biſhops, in an Epiſtle to Pope *Leo* (*d*), the immediate Succeſſor of this *Adrian*, blamed *Adrian* for confirming the Archbiſhoprick erected at *Lichfield*: Pope *Leo* anſwered, That *Adrian* had been no further concerned, than that he had ſent a Pall to the Biſhop of the *Mercians* (*e*); and this at the Inſtance of King *Offa*, and the Biſhops, and Nobility of *England*.

Nec propterea ullæ Metropolis præjudicium patiatur, ſi alicui Suffraganeorum, aut nos, aut Predeceſſor noſter rogantibus piis Francorum Ducibus pallium largiti ſumus. Concil. Tom. 6. Ed. Labb. Coll. 1888.

(*d*) *Angliæ Sacr. Part* 1. *pag.* 461.

Honorem Pallii Merciorum Epiſcopo Dominus Adrianus Apoſtolicus dixerit.

(*e*) Ibid.

And was there no other Inſtance, that one proof from the Epiſtle of Pope *Adrian*, to the Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, is enough to demonſtrate, that the Court of *Rome* was yet unacquainted with the Doctrine of Pope *Innocent* the Third, and the later Canoniſts; and did not yet believe, that the giving of the Pall made an Archbiſhop, or raiſed a private See to the State of an Archbiſhoprick. In ſhort, it ſeems very manifeſt, that the government of the

the Church by Archbiſhops, or Metropolitans, was introduced, or at leaſt ſettled in the Church by the Council of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*, and generally received by the whole Chriſtian Church, before the uſe of the Pall was introduced into the Church; and after it was introduced, the *Æthiopick*, *Perſian*, and *Indian*, and ſome part of the *Greek* Church, never received it to this Day.

But after all that has been ſaid on that ſubject, notwithſtanding the Palls received by *Egbert*, and ſome of his Succeſſors, and the Title of Archbiſhop, commonly given by our Hiſtorians, to his Succeſſors in the See of *York*, there is great reaſon to believe, that that Archbiſhoprick was never perfectly ſettled till after the *Norman* Conqueſt.

SECT. VI. I have not led the Reader out of the way, in a long digreſſion about the Pall, for the ſake of a Ceremony a Man may be ignorant of without a Fault, but to give a juſt Idea of the preſent ſtate of the *Engliſh* Church, by ſhewing, that the giving and receiving of the Pall was yet thought conſiſtent with the Authority of a free and independent Church; and that though the *Engliſh* Nation was at this time infinitely fond of the Rites and Uſages of the *Roman* Church, yet it did not own any ſubjection thereunto, but what was founded on Gratitude and Kindneſs, and conſiſtent with the Power the Canons of the univerſal Church allowed to every National Church; and a little time produced an occaſion to ſhew the ſenſe of the *Engliſh* Church more fully on this ſubject. *Ab Anno 740, ad Annum 747.*

For *Nothelmus*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Succeſſor to *Tatwin*, dying in *November* 740, or as others 741, *Cuthbert*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, ſucceeded. This Prelate having had a long Friendſhip with *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, did not, long after his acceſſion to that Chair, write to *Boniface*; who, in return, beſides ſome general Advices, ſent him a Copy of a Council he had lately held in *Germany* (*a*), by the eſpecial Directions and appointment of *Zachary*, Biſhop of *Rome*, and under the Character of his Legate: In which Council, conſiſting of the Biſhops of the *Franks*, and *Gauls*, not only a Confeſſion of the Catholick Faith was agreed upon, but alſo *an Union and Subjection to the* Roman *Church, and that to the end of their Lives they would be ſubject to St.* Peter *and his Vicar*; *that*

(*b*) *Concil. Brit. Vol. I. pag.* 237.

that their Metropolitans ſhould ſeek their Palls from that See, and canonically obey the commands of St. Peter (*a*).

(*a*) Ibid.

And towards the end of this Epiſtle he further tells *Cuthbert*, it was alſo in this Council agreed, that ſuch Diſcords as could not be redreſſed by Biſhops in their Dioceſan Synods, ſhould be brought to the Council of the Metropolitan. But this Council did not determine, that Cauſes might be removed from the Synod of Metropolitans to that of the Biſhop of *Rome*; but, on the contrary, by lodging the Proceſs in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes in the hands of the Metropolitan and his Synod, plainly ſhew, they eſteemed thoſe Aſſemblies as the laſt reſort in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, and their Sentences as final; and that they did not intend to give up the Rights of the *Gallican* Church; although in compliance with their Princes *Carloman* and *Pepin*, they agreed, to ſeek their Palls from *Rome*. And to do right to *Boniface*, when he comes to ſpeak of Metropolitans applying themſelves to the Biſhops of *Rome*, in caſes of difficulty, he changes his ſtile, and does not ſpeak of that practice as the ſenſe of the Council, but as an account of his own private Sentiments and Conduct, and the effect of a particular perſonal Obligation. But in caſe, ſaith he, there be any diſorder which by this means I cannot remedy, then, ſaith he, as I am particularly bound by my Oath to do, *I refer to the Apoſtolick See, and the Judgment of St.* Peter; *and thus*, ſaith he, *if I am not miſtaken, is the regular courſe of Church-Diſcipline, for the Biſhop, in caſe of Difficulties he cannot overcome by his proper Authority, to ask the aſſiſtance of his Metropolitan, and the Metropolitan, if need require, to apply himſelf to the Biſhop of* Rome (*b*).

(*b*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* I. *pag.* 238.

SECT. VII. Theſe Reſolutions of *Boniface*, and the *French* and *Gallick* Biſhops, were tranſmitted to *Rome*, where, ſaith *Boniface*, they were received by the Biſhop and Clergy, with mighty Joy; and *Zachary*, then Biſhop, returned his Thanks to the *French* and *Gallick* Biſhops (*c*). Theſe were Reſolutions like the Legantine Council which gave them, being new, and before unknown to the whole Catholick Church; and ſo bare-faced a violence to the Rights of the *Gallican* Church in particular, that not only *Hincmar* in the following Age (*d*), but the Writers of that Church to this Day (*e*) complain of it, as the firſt and moſt open Invaſion of the

Anno 746.

(*c*) *Concil. Britan. Vol.* I. *pag.* 238.

(*d*) De Marca *Concord. Sacer. & Imper. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 44. *ſect.* 6.

(*e*) Mezeray. Charlemaign. *pag.* 112

the Rights of their Metropolitans, and the Authority of the *Gallican* Church.

Nor did the *French* Prelates only reſent the Invaſion of the Right of their Metropolitans in this Inſtance, but ſo reſiſted the Legantine Power which occaſioned it, that from the Death of *Boniface*, till ninety Years after, there was no Legate of the Apoſtolick See ſent into *France* (*a*). It may be juſtly added, that this practice was a direct invaſion of the Canons of the univerſal Church; for Chriſtendom had never heard of Provincial, or National Councils convened by the Legantine Authority, till that *Engliſhman* led the way to it: A practice which in time broke the Authority of all the Weſtern Churches, and ſubjugated them to that of *Rome*; and which, if one may be allowed to judge, ſeems to be chiefly owing to the Ambition of the *Carolovinian* Line.

(*a*) *Concord. Sacerdot. & Imper. Lib. 5. cap. 4. ſect. 17.*

The *Merovignian*, or firſt Race of *French* Kings, had been long declining, and, ſome Years before this, was reduced ſo low, that *Charles Martel* leaving the Title to them, poſſeſſed himſelf ſo intirely of the Royal Power, that at his Death, in the Year 741, he divided the Dominions of the *Franks* amongſt his Sons, (*b*) as if it had been his own Inheritance; the greateſt Shares he gave to *Carloman* and *Pipin*. Theſe Princes reſolved to poſſeſs the Names, as well as the Power of Kings; and the better to bring the *Franks* to bear the change, and bring *Zachary*, Biſhop of *Rome*, to declare them, and the People abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance, they made mighty Court to the See of *Rome*.

(*b*) Mezeray. *Anno* 741. *pag.* 84.

And the miſunderſtanding which was at this time betwixt the Emperors and the Biſhops of *Rome*, and the continual dangers theſe Prelates were about this time expoſed to by the Kings of the *Lombards*, made it neceſſary to them, as far as poſſible, to ſecure the Friendſhip and Intereſt of the *Franks*. The way thus prepared, *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who had devoted himſelf intirely to the Intereſts of the See of *Rome*, was, upon the recommendation of the Popes, *Gregory* the Second and Third, taken into the particular care and favour of theſe two young Princes; and they, under colour of reforming the Clergy, encouraged *Boniface*, under the Character of Legate, to come into *France*, and, without

regard to the Metropolitical Power, to convene Councils and preſide in them.

And both ſides found their Account in this new Friendſhip, for about the Year 750, *Zachary* ſet *Pipin*'s Conſcience right, and declared him and the *Franks* abſolved from the Oath of Allegiance; and *Pipin* was elected, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Throne and Title of King, and depoſed *Childeric*; and *Boniface*, the Legate, ſometime after, ſet the Crown upon his Head. And if *Pipin* and *Carloman* did not act upon theſe views, thus much is owned by *Zachary* himſelf, that the mighty Complement to the Holy Chair, made by the foreſaid Council under *Boniface*, was owing to the Intereſt and Addreſs of *Pipin* and *Carloman* (*a*).

(*a*) *Epiſt.* Zachar. *Concil. Tom.* 6. Labb. *Col.* 1546.

Anno 747. SECT. VIII. One who conſiders this Affair, together with the Character of *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and the mighty warmth with which he purſued the Intereſt of the *Roman* Grandure, and the reliſh and air with which he relates the Services done for that Church, and the mean and abject manner (*b*) with which he begged to be reſtored to the Legantine Power, voided by the Death of Pope *Zachary*, together with what the *French* Hiſtorian ſays of him, that upon all occaſions he contrived things ſo, that all he did made ſtill more and more for the Pope's Sovereign Power, and tended chiefly to that end (*c*), can conclude nothing elſe, but that his Addreſs to *Cuthbert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had its beginning from a conſideration of the ſame kind; and that he hoped, by his Friendſhip with that Prelate, to bring the *Engliſh* Church to follow the Example of the *French*, or, at leaſt, to procure ſome Reſolutions favourable to the See of *Rome*; and that it was upon this ground, that he took the freedom to tell him, that he thought it the duty of a Metropolitan, in difficult caſes, to apply himſelf to the Biſhop of *Rome*; and what an acceptable Service he had done, by bringing the *French* Church to own an Union and Subjection to the *Roman* Church.

(*b*) Bonifac. *Epiſt.* P. de Marca *Concor. Sacerdot. &c. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 43. *ſect.* 8.

(*c*) Mezeray. *Life* Charlem. *pag.* 113.

And it ſeems probable, that it was this Epiſtle of *Boniface*, and the Corruptions in the *Engliſh* Church, he there complains of, that gave occaſion to the convening the Council of *Cloveſhoe* this Year; at leaſt it appears, that ſeveral of the Canons of the Council held under *Boni-*

Boniface, are tranſcribed into the Canons of *Cloveſhoe*; and the particulars ſuggeſted by *Boniface*, in his Epiſtle to *Cuthbert*, are provided againſt in the Canons of this Council.

Malmesbury ſaith, that this Council was opened with the Letters of Pope *Zachary*, but it does not appear, what were the Contents, if any ſuch were; but by the Archbiſhops diſpatch of the Canons of this Council to *Boniface*, and not to *Zachary*, it ſeems moſt likely, that theſe were ſome of the Epiſtles of *Zachary* to *Boniface*; and moſt probably thoſe congratulating the Union of the *French* Biſhops to the See of *Rome* (*a*).

(*c*) *Concil. Tom.* 6. Lab. *Col.* 1522.

SECT. IX. But what ever occaſioned the convening this Council, the Canons of it ſeem very well digeſted, and have a Spirit of Seriouſneſs and Judgment, much ſuperior to the Age. Thoſe Canons which *Boniface* and his Synod had taken from the ancient Church, were received by this Council; but his new Opinions were treated in another manner, and confuted with great Temper and Judgment. *Boniface* told the Archbiſhop, according to the modern notion of Catholick Unity: "We have agreed, in this our Synod, in "the Confeſſion of the Catholick Faith, "and decreed, to continue in Unity and "Subjection to the Church of *Rome*, and "deſire to be ſubject to St. *Peter* and his "Vicar, to the end of our Lives. And "that our Metropolitans ſhould demand "their Palls from the See of *Rome*, and "endeavour to obſerve the Canons of "the Biſhops thereof; that we may be "eſteemed Members of that Church committed to "St. *Peter's* care. This, ſaith he, is what we have all agreed upon, and ſubſcribed to, and having ſent our Reſolutions to *Rome*, they were there received by the Biſhop and Clergy, with all the Marks of Satisfaction and Joy.

Anno 747.

Decrevimus hæc in noſtri Synodali conventu, & confeſſi ſumus fidem Catholicam, & unitatem & ſubjectionem Romanæ Eccleſiæ fine tenus vitæ noſtræ velle ſervare. Metropolitanos pallia ab illa ſede quærere, & per omnia præcepta Sancti Petri Canonicè ſequi deſiderare, ut inter oves ſibi commendatas numerentur, & iſtæ confeſſioni univerſi conſenſimus, & ſubſcripſimus, & ad corpus Sancti Petri principis Apoſtolorum direximus, quod gratulando clerus Romanus, & Pontifex ſuſcepit. Concil. Tom. 6. Labb. Col. 1544.

On the other hand, the Council of *Cloveſhoe*, deſcribing the Unity of the Church, as if they had intended purpoſely to ſhew the Miſtake of thoſe who aſſert the Unity of the Catholick Church to conſiſt in an Unity with the Church of *Rome*, and ſubmiſſion to the Biſhops thereof, in their ſecond Canon concerning the

the Unity of the Church, 'tis thus determined: "That ſincere Love, "and Chriſtian Unity and Affecti- "on ought to be amongſt all the "Clergy, in Word, in Deed, and Judg- "ment, (without flattery of any ones "Perſon) as the Servants of one Lord, "and Fellow-Labourers in the ſame Go- "ſpel; ſo that however ſeparated by di- "ſtance of place, they may, notwith- "ſtanding, be united in the ſame Judg- "ment, and ſerve God in one Spirit, in the ſame Faith, "Hope, and Charity, daily praying for each other, "that every one may faithfully perſevere to the end, in the diſcharge of his Holy Function.

Ut pacis intimæ, & ſinceræ caritatis devotio ubique inter eos perpetuo permaneat, atque ut una ſit omnium concordia in omnibus viris Eccleſiaſticæ religionis, in ſermone, in opere, & judicio ſine cujuſquam adulatione perſonæ, utpote unius domini miniſtri, uniuſque Miniſterii conſervi; ut licet ſedibus ſint diviſi, per diverſa loca, tamen mentibus conjuncti in uno Spiritu, Deo in Fide, & Spe, & Caritate deſerviant, orantes diligenter pro ſibi invicem, ut ſui certaminis curſum fideliter unuſquiſque conſummare poſſet. Concil. Tom. 6. Ed. Lab. Col. 1573.

And by a Provincial Conſtitution of *Odo*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, about two hundred Years after this, the ſenſe of the Church of *England* appears to be the ſame in this particular (*a*).

(*a*) Concil. Brit. Vol. I. pag. 417.

In theſe Inſtances it appears to be the conſtant ſenſe of the *Engliſh* Church, that the Unity of the Catholick Church conſiſts in the agreement of Chriſtians in the ſame Faith, Hope, and Charity, and in mutual Prayers for the Happineſs and Salvation of each other: Not a ſyllable of Union to the Church, or ſubjection to the Biſhops of *Rome*; but, on the contrary, the words, *Sine cujuſquam adulatione*, look ſo like a Reflection on the rant of *Boniface*, in favour of the Biſhops of *Rome*, that they ſeem capable of no other ſenſe.

Nor is the ſenſe of this Synod leſs plain, in declaring againſt the Sentiments of *Boniface*, in reſpect to the Authority of Provincial Synods; for whereas *Boniface* had aſſerted the regular courſe of Eccleſiaſtical Proceedings to be, to appeal from private Biſhops, to the Metropolitan, and from the Metropolitan, in caſe of a great difficulty, to the Biſhop of *Rome*. This Council, inſtead of carrying the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church to a Foreign Biſhop, in the twenty fifth Canon, decrees, that ſuch Affairs as private Biſhops could not determine in their reſpective Dioceſſes, ſhould be brought to the Provincial Council, and be adjuſted by the Archbiſhop and his Synod (*b*).

(*b*) Concil. Tom. 6. Ed. Lab. Col. 1580.

This

This Canon is taken from a Canon of the 'foreſaid Council under *Boniface*, but with this difference, that what *Boniface* ſaith of the Biſhop of *Rome* in the latter end of his Canon, and what he immediately ſubjoins of Appeals from Metropolitans to the Biſhop of *Rome*, is ſo purpoſely omitted by the Council of *Cloveſhoe*, which ſhews plainly, that the intention of this Council was to check the new and ill-grounded Error of *Boniface*, and ſettle the Diſcipline of the Church on the ſame foot the Council of *Nice* had done before; for by ſaying that Appeals might be made from the Biſhop of a Dioceſs to the Metropolitan and his Synod, without mentioning any other Perſon to whom an Appeal lay, they did in effect determine againſt the Doctrine of *Boniface*, that there lay no Appeal from their Metropolitan and his Synod, to the Biſhop of *Rome*; but, on the contrary, that all diſputes in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs ſhould be finally determined in the Province wherein they ariſe.

SECT. X. So plain a declaration of the ſenſe of the *Engliſh* Church ſhould be enough, one would think, to ſhew how little this Age was acquainted with the mighty Pretences which have of late been founded on the *Sardique* Council; for the Canons and Conduct of the *Engliſh* Church appear to be all of a piece, and all very croſs to the Doctrine of Appeals, which has been ſo zealouſly contended for by the Advocates of the Papal Supremacy; and yet, after all, one who looks into the Canons of that Council of *Sardice*, and the ſenſe which both the Weſtern and Eaſtern Churches had of that Aſſembly, cannot but be ſurpriſed at the aſſurance with which ſome Great Men found the Doctrine of Appeals on the Authority of that Council. *Anno* 747.

But becauſe this Doctrine is directly oppoſite to the Doctrine and Practice of the *Engliſh* Church, to ſet both this Matter and the Conduct of the *Engliſh* Church, in their true Light, it will be requiſite to look back to the occaſion and circumſtances of the *Sardique* Council.

The *Arrian* Hereſy having given a great deal of diſquiet to the Chriſtian Church, the Emperor, *Conſtantine the Great*, called a Council, which met at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, in the Year 328, where that Hereſy was condemned, and *Arrius*, a Prieſt of *Alexandria*, the firſt broacher of it, was baniſhed: But, towards the latter end of his

Reign, that Prince was ſo poſſeſſed by a Prieſt who favoured *Arrius*, that the Sentiments of *Arrius* were miſtaken, and that *Arrius* was ready to ſubſcribe to the Council of *Nice*, that *Conſtantine* recalled *Arrius* (*a*), who having deceived that Prince with a Subſcription to the *Nicean* Council, he ſent him to *Alexandria* to be received into the Church again (*b*).

(*a*) Socrat. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 25. *pag.* 60.

(*b*) Socrat. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 26.

But *Athanaſius*, then Archbiſhop of *Alexandria*, being ſenſible that *Arrius* had impoſed upon the Emperor, and retained ſtill the ſame erroneous Principles, refuſed to receive him into the Communion of the Church (*c*), and remonſtrated to the Emperor the unfitneſs of receiving a Perſon who ſtood condemned by the Council of *Nice*. *Conſtantine* reſented this Remonſtrance, and cauſed *Athanaſius* to come to *Conſtantinople*; during his ſtay there, the *Arrian* Faction ſuggeſted ſo many Falſities to the Emperor, that the Emperor baniſh'd *Athanaſius* into *Gaul* (*d*); and the *Arrian* Party in the *Eaſt* taking the advantage of the diſgrace that Prelate was under, condemned and depoſed him from his Biſhoprick, and placed *Gregory* in his Chair.

(*c*) *Ejuſdem, cap.* 27.

(*d*) Socrat. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 37. *pag.* 71.

After ſome time the Emperor being made ſenſible of his Error, recalled *Athanaſius*, and intended to reſtore him to his Biſhoprick; but before this could be done, that Emperor died, and left the Empire divided amongſt his three Sons, *Conſtantine*, *Conſtans*, and *Conſtantius*. However, the known reſolution of *Conſtantine* had this good effect on his Son *Conſtantine* the Younger, that by his Authority *Athanaſius* was reſtored to his Biſhoprick; (*e*) but that young Prince being killed in Battel not long after, all the Eaſtern parts of the Empire fell into the hands of *Conſtantius*, as thoſe of the Weſt did to his Brother *Conſtans*,

(*e*) Socrat *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 3. *pag.* 82.

Conſtantius being a favourer of the *Arrian* Faction, the Enemies of *Athanaſius* quickly found ways to diſpoſſeſs him a ſecond time; and by a Military force drove him from *Alexandria*, and reſtored *Gregory* (*f*). Such too was the Fate of *Paul*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*; and ſome other of the Eaſtern Biſhops who oppoſed the *Arrian* Hereſy. Being driven from their Country, they went into *Italy*, and *Julius*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, receiv'd them into Communion: And the commiſeration due to Men who ſuffered for the Faith of Chriſt, together with

(*f*) *Ejuſdem cap.* 11. *pag.* 88.

with their own Intreaties, prevailed upon the Emperor *Conſtans* to reſolve to have the Cauſe of the exiled Biſhops reheard in a General Council; and as he ſummoned the Biſhops of the Weſtern Empire himſelf, ſo by a Letter to him for that purpoſe, he prevailed upon his Brother to call the Biſhops of the Eaſt; (*a*) and *Sardice* in *Illyricum*, as lying on the extremities of the Weſtern Empire, and convenient to the Eaſt, was fixed upon as the place of Meeting, where the Prelates delegated from the Eaſt and Weſtern Churches, met in the Year 347, to the number of about one hundred and Seventy (*b*).

(*a*) *Ejuſdem. cap.* 20. *pag.* 101.

(*b*) Beveregii *Annot. Concil. Sardicenſ. Synodicon Tom.* 2. *pag.* 199.

SECT. XI. Before the Biſhops of the Eaſt would enter into any Debate with thoſe of the Weſt, they required, that *Athanaſius*, and *Paulus*, and ſuch other Biſhops as were come to attend the iſſue of this Aſſembly, ſhould be put out of the Communion of the Weſtern Biſhops; and declared, that till this was done they would not ſo much as come into the ſame Church with the Weſtern Biſhops, (*c*); but the Weſtern Biſhops affirming, that *Athanaſius* and *Paulus* had been unjuſtly Excommunicated, perſiſted in their reſolution not to put them out of their Communion (*d*).

Anno 747.

(*c*) *Synodicon Tom.* 2. *p.* 199.

(*d*) Ibid.

This made ſuch a Breach, that without entring into any Buſineſs, the Eaſtern Biſhops being Eighty in number, immediately retired from *Sardice* to *Philopopolis* in *Thracia*, where they held a diſtinct Council (*e*); and the Iſſue was what might reaſonably be expected from ſuch a beginning. The Weſtern Biſhops at *Sardice* being about ninety, not only confirmed what *Julius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, had done in receiving *Athanaſius* into Communion, but pronounced his Enemies ſhould be depoſed, the exiled Biſhops reſtored, and condemned the Eaſtern Biſhops for receding from *Sardice* (*f*).

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Socrates *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 20.

And becauſe the *Arrians* were at this time a very great and prevailing Party in the Eaſt, and upon every advantage treated the Orthodox Clergy with great Inhumanity; and what was now the Caſe of the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Conſtantinople*, might too ſoon be the Caſe of all ſuch as had Courage and Integrity to bear up againſt the Errors of that Party; they reſolve upon an Expedient which they thought moſt likely, both to juſtify their preſent Conduct, and provide the quickeſt Re-

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Remedy for ſuch as might ſuffer by the *Arrian* Faction; and alſo give Courage to thoſe who oppoſed it, and expreſs a juſt ſenſe of the Zeal with which the preſent Biſhop of *Rome*, *Julius*, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, in making head againſt that Peſtilent Hereſy.

The expedient they reſolve upon is comprehended in the third, fourth, and fifth Canons of that Council. In the third Canon, *Hoſius*, a *Spaniſh* Biſhop, and Preſident of the Council, makes this Propoſition: That if any Biſhop happen to be depoſed, and thought his Cauſe to be good, that it might be reheard; and that if it ſo pleaſes this Aſſembly, let us do this Honour to the Memory of St. *Peter*, that by ſome of thoſe Biſhops who had the hearing of the Cauſe, it may be ſignified to *Julius* of *Rome*, that if there were need for it he may appoint ſome other Biſhops neighbouring on the Province, to join with the Biſhops of the Province and rehear the Cauſe.

Si quis autem Epiſcoporum in aliquo negotio condemnari viſus fuerit, & exiſtimet, ſe non malam, ſed bonam cauſam habere, ut etiam rurſus judicium renovetur; ſi veſtræ dilectioni videtur, Petri Apoſtoli memoriam honoremus, & de iis qui judicaverant, ſcribatur Julio Romanorum Epiſcopo, ut per propinquos Provinciæ Epiſcopos, ſi opus ſit, judicium renovetur, & cognitores ipſe præbeat, &c. Can. tertio Synodicon Edit. Beveridg. p. 485.

Anno 747. SECT. XII. Whatever Inferences ſome Men may make from hence, it is very evident, that this Power of appointing a Review of Matters determined in Provincial Synods, was no other than what had been anciently and commonly practiſed by the Emperors; and indeed this very Council of *Sardice*, was called on purpoſe to review what had before been determined in the Synods of *Tyre*, *Antioch*, and *Conſtantinople*, againſt *Athanaſius*; and this too by the Authority of the Emperors *Conſtans* and *Conſtantius* (*a*); and the Truſt here put into the hands of the Biſhops of *Rome*, was ſo far from being a peculiar Honour to thoſe Prelates, that about the Year 341, which was about ſix Years before the Council of *Sardice*, the Council of *Antioch* granted a Power of Review to every Metropolitan (*b*); and in caſe of a Biſhop depoſed, if any Biſhop of the Province diſſented from it, the Metropolitan was empowered to call in Biſhops from the neighbouring Provinces, and together with them, and the Biſhops of his own Province, was to rehear the Cauſe.

(*a*) De Marca *Concord. Sacer. & Imper. Lib. 7. cap. 2. ſect. 8. p. 307.*

(*b*) *Synodicon* Beveregii. *cap. 14. Tom. 1. pag. 444.*

And yet this Council was ſo far from eſtabliſhing the late Doctrine of Appeals, or invading the Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in the Council of *Nice*, that in the very next Canon

Canon they pronounce, that the Sentences of every Provincial Synod ought to be final, where the Biſhops are unanimous in their Judgment (*a*). But to return to the Council of *Sardice*.

(*a*) Ibid. Can. 15.

Leſt the raſhneſs of thoſe by whom ſuch Biſhops ſhould be depoſed ſhould, by filling up the Biſhopricks, make the reſtitution of the Perſon depoſed more difficult, in the following Canon it was decreed, That if the Biſhop ſo depoſed by the Biſhops of the Province, ſhould inſiſt upon it as his Right to have his Cauſe reheard, that in that caſe his Biſhoprick ſhould not be filled up till the Biſhop of *Rome* had given his Judgment in the Cauſe.

Can. 4. *Si quis Epiſcopus judicio Epiſcoporum qui ſunt in vicinià depoſitus fuerit, & dicat rurſus ſibi reſponſionis negotium competere; non prius in Cathedram ejus alius ſubſtituatur, quam Romanus Epiſcopus cauſâ cognitâ ſententiam tulerit.*

It is well known what mighty ſtreſs is laid upon this Canon; but how bright and dazling ſoever this Truſt may appear in ſome Mens Eyes, it is evident to every one who conſiders it well, that this is really no more than what the 'foreſaid Council of *Antioch* puts into the hands of every Metropolitan; for by giving them Power to reviſe a Judgment againſt a depoſed Biſhop, they do in effect give them Power to ſuſpend the filling up his Biſhoprick till his Cauſe be reheard: And it is as plain, that this Power is included in this Truſt, as it is reaſonable to affirm, that a Biſhop ought not to be deprived before his Cauſe be finally determined: So that the difference between theſe Canons of *Antioch* and *Sardice* lies only in this, that the one includes, and neceſſarily implies, what the other expreſſes in Terms.

And the caſe is much the ſame in the following Canon, wherein, becauſe it may ſo fall out, that the Metropolitan and the Biſhops, by whom the depoſed Biſhop was condemned, may be unanimous in their Sentence, and ſo not prevailed upon to write to the Biſhop of *Rome*, to have the Cauſe reviewed, as they had reaſon to ſuſpect would be the caſe of ſuch Biſhops as ſhould be depoſed by the *Arrians*. That the Innocent might not loſe the benefit of this Expedient, they agreed in the fifth Canon, That ſuch a Perſon ſhould, upon his flight to *Rome*, and Perſonal complaint, have the ſame Privilege as in the former caſe; and that if the Biſhop of *Rome*

Can. 5. Sardicenſis Concil. Synodicon. pag. 488.

Si quis Epiſcopus delatus fuerit, & congregati ejuſmodi regionis Epiſcopi, eum gradu moverint, & veluti appellans confugerit ab beatiſſimum Romanum Epiſcopum, & velit eum audire, & juſtum eſſe exiſtimaverit ejus rei examinationem renovari ; illis Epiſcopis ſcribere dignabitur qui ſunt propinqui Provinciæ ut ipſi diligenter, & accurate ſingula perſcrutentur, & ex veritatis perſuaſione de re ſententiam ferant. Si quis autem poſtulet ſuum negotium rurſus audiri, & ad ſuam ſupplicationem Romanorum Epiſcopo judicare viſum fuerit, à proprio latere Presbiteros mittat : ut ſit in poteſtate ipſius Epiſcopi (quod rectè habere probaverit, & ſtatuerit oportere) eos mitti qui cum Epiſcopis ſunt judicaturi, habentes autoritatem ejus à quo miſſi ſunt ; & hoc ponendum eſt. Si autem ad rei cognitionem Epiſcopi etiam ſententiam ſufficere putaverit ; faciet quod prudentiſſimo ejus conſilio recte habere videbitur.

ſhould think fit, he might appoint ſome other Biſhops, together with thoſe by whom the Cauſe had been heard, to rehear the Cauſe ; and, upon an exact and careful review thereof, give their Judgment therein : or, upon deſire of the Biſhop ſo depoſed, the Biſhop of *Rome*, inſtead of the Biſhops of the neighbouring Province, might delegate ſome Presbyters of his own, who, together with the Biſhops of the Province, by whom the Cauſe was primarily heard, might rehear the Cauſe,

All this difference betwixt the Truſt here put into the hands of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the common Truſt repoſed by the Council of *Antioch* with every Metropolitan, lies only in this, that whereas theſe are limited in their Reviews, to the Biſhops of the neighbouring Province, the Biſhop of *Rome* is allowed, if he pleaſe, to ſend ſome Presbyters of his own, to join with the Biſhops of the Province in the Review ; but ſtill it is to be done in the Province, and in conjunction with the Biſhops thereof : And the exerciſe of this Power is limited to a particular caſe of a depoſed Biſhop : And the Hiſtory and Reaſon of convening this Council ſhews, this was all that was intended by this Canon.

So that if this Truſt had been put into the hands of the Biſhops of *Rome*, by the Council of *Nice*, as *Sozimus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, in his Diſpute with the *African* Biſhops, very unworthily pretended ; or that of *Sardice* had been a General Council, as others as wrongfully pretend ; yet the Truſt here committed to the Biſhop of *Rome*, being but proviſional, and limited to a particular Caſe, and this only a Power of Review, nothing can be imagined more extravagant and vain, than to extend it to a general Right of Appeals in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.

(a) *Concord. Sacerd. & Imper. Lib. 7. cap. 3. ſect. 6. pag. 311.*
(b) Richerii *Hiſtor. Concil. Part 1. cap. 6. pag. 222*

SECT. XIII. And the force of this kind of reaſoning will appear ſtronger ſtill, if with the Learned *P. de Marca* (*a*), and *Richerius* (*b*), it be conſidered what a mighty difference there is betwixt a Reviſion and an Appeal ; for a Reviſion leaves the definitive Sentence to the

the former Juriſdiction, but with this difference, that ſome new Judges are added to the former; but an Appeal transfers the entire knowledge of the Cauſe to a ſuperior Judge, who hears, and finally determines the Matter in his own Court.

And it is manifeſt, as the ſame Writers well obſerve, that it is the Power of a Reviſion or Rehearing, and not of Appeals, that the 'foreſaid Canons grant to the Biſhops of *Rome* (*a*): And this Power too is limited to a particular caſe of Biſhops depoſed; and the whole appears proviſional, and limited to the Perſon of Pope *Julius*, and the preſent circumſtances of the Chriſtian Church, but affords ſo little ground for thoſe pretenſions which have been built upon it, that the Learned *De Marca* affirms, and this on Reaſons unanſwerable, that this *Council decreed nothing contrary to the ſupream Authority of Provincial Councils ſettled by the Council of* Nice (*b*).

(*a*) *Concord. Sacer. & Imper. Lib.* 7. *cap.* 3. *ſect.* 6. *p.* 311.

(*b*) Ibid.

But, on the contrary, *Oſius*, who preſided in this Council, in a Synodical Epiſtle to *Julius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, ſaith, This Council had confirmed the Canons of the Council of *Nice* (*c*); and indeed, the great thing deſigned and laboured by the *Arrian* Faction, was deſtroying the Authority of that Council, and they would have been exceedingly gratified in a Proceeding of this kind.

(*c*) Sozomen. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 12. *pag.* 514.

And if there was no other proof, that this Council did not intend to violate the Authority of the Council of *Nice*, or to give the Biſhops of *Rome* a Right to Appeals, the third Canon, which is one of the chief ſupports of that pretence, is enough, one would think, to clear the Matter beyond diſpute; for the beginning of that Canon does expreſly require, that in Controverſies which happen betwixt Biſhops of the ſame Province, they ſhall abide by the Judgment of their Comprovincials, and not call for the Judgment of the Biſhops of any other Province.

SECT. XIV. But whilſt things thus proceeded at *Sardice*, the Eaſtern Biſhops who retired to *Philopopolis*, condemned that Council, pronounced *Oſius*, and the chief Managers thereof Excommunicate, and depoſed *Julius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, as holding Communion with *Athanaſius* (*d*). And Succeſſion ſo far juſtified this Proceeding,

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(*d*) Sozomen. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib.* 3 *cap.* 12. *pag.* 512.

ceeding, that this Council of *Sardice* was never receiv'd by the Eaſtern Churches, nor ſo much as found in the *Greek* Tongue till after the Collection of *Dioniſius Exiguus* (*a*), and was univerſally eſteemed as a Council of the *Latin* Church only; and to this day has not a place amongſt the General Councils, in the beſt Collections which have been hitherto publiſhed.

(*a*) Richerii *Hiſtor. Concil. Part* 1. *p.* 94.

Nor is it ſo eſteemed by any Writer, but ſome few Men, whoſe Zeal for the grandure of the Papacy leads them croſs the Canons of General Councils, and the practice of the whole Catholick Church; there being no General Council, and few Provincial Councils, till after the Tenth Century, that do not confirm the Canons of the Councils of *Nice*, and allow the Authority thereof; and conſequently condemn the Canons of *Sardice*, ſo far as they interfere with thoſe of *Nice*. And the late pretence, that the reaſon why the Council of *Sardice* is not allowed the Authority or Title of a General Council, by any General Council, was, becauſe that Council was anciently reputed but as a part of, or an appendix to the Council of *Nice*, and was virtually confirmed in the confirmation thereof, is a pretence ſo far from weight and truth, that if one was to wiſh an ill turn to an Enemy, one could not think upon any thing more likely to fix a reproach upon him, than making him the Author, or the Advocate of ſo falſe and ſo ignorant a pretence.

But if one may ſpeak freely, thoſe Learned Men who have taken a great deal of pains, to prove that of *Sardice* to be a General Council, and derive the Right of the Biſhops of *Rome* to Appeals from thence, ſeem to begin their Account at the wrong end, and exceedingly leſſen the Power they pretend to magnify; for the truth is, it was not the Council of *Sardice* which gave the Biſhops of *Rome* a Right to Appeals, but it was the Power thoſe Prelates raiſed themſelves unto, which gave the firſt thought of raiſing that Aſſembly to the Title and Authority of a General Council; and it is the ſame reaſon that ſtill ſupports that pretence: And it is a mighty condeſcention in thoſe Prelates to lodge that Power in the Canons, which in truth they owe entirely to their own Conduct, and the Council never ſo much as thought of. And the Secret had lain undiſcovered

to

to this Day, if there had not been a neceſſity of ſhelt'ring an Uſurpation under a pretence of Law.

SECT. XV. But whatever ſenſe other Churches might have of the Council of *Sardice*, it is very evident, that it was not eſteemed as a General Council by the Church of *England*; nor the Authority thereof as to the Matter of Appeals, ever allowed, till by baſe and unworthy Arts the Legantine Power was forced upon theſe Nations, about four hundred Years after the Council of *Cloveſhoe*. Thus much is evident, that the Council of *Hatfield* received all the General Councils then received by the Chriſtian Church, which the Council thus enumerates; the Councils of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, *Chalcedon*, and the ſecond at *Conſtantinople* (*a*): And at the ſame time the *Engliſh* Church received a Patriarchal Council under Pope *Martin*, (*b*) but takes no notice of that at *Sardice*. *Anno* 747.

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Tom.* I. *pag.* 169.
(*b*) Ibid.

And in the Council of *Calcuith*, the Biſhops of *Oſtia* and *Tudertum*, Legates of *Adrian*, Biſhop of *Rome*, propoſed to the *Engliſh* Biſhops the receiving of ſix General Councils only (*c*); and this was in the Year 787, before which time, it is very well known, the Church of *Rome* had received ſix General Councils without that of *Sardice*, not including the diſputed Council of *Conſtantinople*, againſt the Worſhip of Images. And in the mighty Collections out of the Councils made by *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Seventh Century, and by *Egbert*, Archbiſhop of *York* in the Eighth, there is not ſo much as one Canon from the *Sardique* Council.

(*c*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* I. *pag.* 293.

But, on the contrary, the hundred forty firſt Canon in the Collections of *Egbert* is taken from the Council of *Nice*, and aſſerts the Authority of the Metropolitan in his Synod to be final (*d*); though in his forty eighth Canon he ſpeaks of carrying ſome Queſtions to *Rome* for deciſion. And in thoſe which paſs under the name of *Ælfrick*'s Canons, the four firſt General Councils are reckoned in this order, *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, and *Chalcedon*, (*e*) and are ſaid to be obſerved as the four Goſpels. And ſo far was the Church of *England* from allowing the Biſhops of *Rome* to rehear a Cauſe which had been determined in its Provincial Councils, much leſs to remove a Cauſe from thence by Appeal, that it appears

(*d*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* I. *pag.* 273.

(*e*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* I. *pag.* 581.

from the Council of *Clarendon*, that there was no Appeal from the Archbiſhops, but, in ſome caſes, to the Courts of the King; but, on the contrary, it was received as a part of the Law of *England*, that no Biſhop could go out of *England* without the King's leave; and that the Biſhop of *Rome* could ſend no Legate into *England*, but upon the King's particular deſire.

And this was ſo manifeſt, that at the agreement betwixt *Henry* the Firſt and Pope *Caliſtus* at *Giſort* in *France*, that Prelate conſented to this, as the Right to the Crown of *England* (*a*): And if the Biſhop of *Rome* had no Power to call a Biſhop to *Rome*, nor ſend a Legate to take cognizance of any Matter in *England*, it will be paſt a doubt, that the 'foreſaid Canons of *Sardice* were never received in *England*, at leaſt, not in that ſenſe which is pretended to by ſome Men. And as this ſhews us how ſteadily the Church of *England* acted up to the Council of *Nice*, without ſuffering any Foreign Power to break in upon it; ſo the long Controverſy about the Legantine Power will, in its proper place, lead us to conſider, when and how theſe Meaſures came to be changed; but this being ſaid to ſhew upon what foot the 'foreſaid Council of *Cloveſhoe* proceeded, and to aſſert the Authority of Provincial Synods, it will be time to ask the Reader's Pardon for this Digreſſion, and return to view the further Proceedings of the Council of *Cloveſhoe*.

(*a*) Hovenden. *Annal. An.* 1119. *fol.* 272.

Anno 747.

SECT. XVI. But whilſt this Council was thus careful to preſerve the Right and Authority of the *Engliſh* Church, yet that they might give no Offence to the Biſhop and Church of *Rome*, nor omit any thing needful to a juſt Deference and Gratitude, this Council appointed, that in the obſervance of Feſtivals, the Canonical Hours of Prayer (*b*), and the Litanies, and Rogations, (*c*), the Uſages of the *Roman* Church ſhould be obſerved. And as a Mark of their Gratitude and Obligation to the See of *Rome*, they erected Feſtivals to the Memory of *Gregory the Great*, and *Auſtin* the firſt Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (*d*), and appointed that the Name of *Auſtin* ſhould have the next place in their Litanies, after that of *Gregory* (*c*).

(*b*) Can. 13.
(*c*) Can. 15.
(*d*) Can. 17.
(*e*) Can. 17.

Nor were the Prelates in the Council of *Cloveſhoe* leſs careful to do Right to the Truſt God had put into their hands, than to the Authority of the Church of *England*, and

and their Gratitude to the Church of *Rome*; and therefore, amongſt many excellent Advices to the Biſhops, Clergy, and People, the Advice of *Bede* to *Egbert* was approved, and the Clergy were obliged to learn the Creed and the Lord's-Prayer in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and teach them to the People; and to be able to explain in the *Engliſh* Tongue the Offices of Baptiſm and the Lord's-Supper (*a*); and they were particularly required to be conſtant themſelves, and encourage the People to be conſtant in their attendance on the Communion of the Body and Blood of *Chriſt* (*b*), to apply themſelves to the Study of the Holy Sriptures, (*c*) and if they had not the knowledge of the *Latin*, they were required to learn ſome particular Offices in the *Engliſh* Tongue (*d*); a due obſervance of the Lord's-Day was alſo recommended (*e*), and ſeveral Miſtakes concerning Alms (*f*) and Penance were rectified (*g*).

(*a*) Can. 10.
(*b*) Can. 22.
(*c*) Can. 7.
(*d*) Can. 27.
(*e*) Can. 14.
(*f*) Can. 26.
(*g*) Can. 27.

SECT. XVII. Thus ended this Council, to which the Learned *Du Pin* thinks fit to give the Title of a National Council, though in proper ſpeaking it ſeems to be no other than a Provincial Synod, conſiſting only of *Cuthbert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who preſided in it, and eleven Suffragan Biſhops, and theſe were, for the Kingdom of *Kent*, *Dunnus*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; the Biſhops of the Kingdom of *Mercia* were five, and theſe were *Totta*, Biſhop of *Leiceſter*; *Witta*, Biſhop of *Lichfield*; *Podda*, Biſhop of *Hereford*; *Milred*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*; and *Alwight*, Biſhop of *Sydnaceſter* or *Lindeſey*, for ſo this Biſhop is wrote by *Malmsbury*, though in the Editions of the Council he is wrote Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, and doubtleſs by a Miſtake, for *Kinewulf* was at this time Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*. *Anno* 747.

The Weſtern *Engliſh* had two Biſhops preſent in this Council, theſe were *Hunferdus*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Hirwald*, Biſhop of *Shirborn*. The *Eaſt-Angles* had only one Biſhop preſent here, and this was *Heardulf*, Biſhop of *Dunmoc* and *Helmanſted*. The *Eaſt* and *South-Saxons* had but two Biſhops, and theſe were, *Egwulf*, Biſhop of *London*, and *Siega*, Biſhop of *Selſey*, both preſent in this Council, which ended much to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, giving a very remarkable Inſtance of their care to preſerve their Rights. *Egbert* was at this time Archbiſhop of *York*, but was not preſent in this Coun-

Council, nor any other Biſhop North of *Humber*, though there were at this time no leſs than four Biſhops within the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, comprehending the Biſhop of *Candida Caſa*, now *Wittern* in *Scotland*.

Ethelwald, King of the *Mercians*, and many of his Nobility were preſent at this Council, and many of the Lower Clergy; no ſooner was this Council finiſhed, but the Archbiſhop cauſed a Copy of it to be diſpatched away to *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*. Nor was this Council only ſenſible of that Prelate's Deſigns to raiſe the Biſhops of *Rome* to an Authority the Canons of the Church had denied them; but he had the Mortification to find great oppoſition from the *French* and *German* Biſhops; ſome of whom, ſeeing into the bottom of his Deſign, refuſed to receive Palls from *Rome*; and this after *Boniface* had ſent thither, and obtained the grant thereof (*a*), and the reſt were generally uneaſy under his Legantine Power.

(*a*) Zachar. *Epiſt. Concil. Tom.* 6. Labb. *Col.* 1504. & Baron. *Annal. An.* 751.

And which was ſtill a greater Mortification, *Boniface* himſelf was ſo ſenſible of the corruption of the Court he ſerved, and complained thereof to Pope *Zachary*, in terms ſo reproachful, that he fell under the diſpleaſure of that Prelate for it (*b*); but it was not long before God put an end to his Life and Troubles; and in ſuch a manner as ought to cover his Memory from the reproach his miſplaced Zeal too juſtly deſerved; for it pleaſed God to ſuffer him to be martyred for the ſake of *Chriſt*, in the Year 754, as he was diſcharging the Offices of his Holy Function in *Frieſland*.

(*b*) Ibid.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Ab Anno 753 ad Annum 792.

SECT. I. *Diſpute betwixt the Emperor* Philippicus, *and* Conſtantine, *Biſhop of* Rome: *The occaſion and effects thereof.*

II. *Firſt riſe of the Controverſy about Images: Occaſion thereof.* Italy *thereby withdrawn from Obedience to the Emperor.*

III. Baronius *quarrels the* Greek *Hiſtorians, for their Account of that Controverſy: The Reaſons thereof examined. The* French *called into* Italy *by the Biſhop of* Rome. Pipin, *with his Army conquers* Lombardy.

IV. Pipin *gives* Rome *and its Dependances to the Biſhops thereof.*

V. *The* French *boaſt the Greatneſs of the Biſhops of* Rome *is owing to them: The ground thereof: The Reaſons of this digreſſion.*

VI. *Donation of* Pipin *thought to have given occaſion to the pretended Donation of* Conſtantine the Great. *Folly and Impudence of that pretended Grant. The ill returns to the* French *of their Favours to the Biſhops of* Rome.

VII. Cuthbert, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *dies.* Egbert, *Archbiſhop of* York *dies. Their Characters.*

VIII. Offa *divides the Province of* Canterbury; *ſets up an Archbiſhop's Seat at* Lichfield: *Gets a Pall from* Rome *to colour his Proceedings.*

IX. *Confuſions in our Hiſtory, as to the time when this Archbiſhoprick was erected, and the Perſons who enjoyed that Title. Biſhops of* Worceſter, Hereford, Leiceſter, Sydnaceſter, Helmanſted, *and* Dunmoc *made Suffragans to the Archbiſhop of* Lichfield.

X. *Council of* Calicuith: *The occaſions and circumſtances thereof. Diviſion of the Province of* Canterbury *ſaid to be confirmed in this Council. Legates of the Biſhop of* Rome *preſent at this Council: Occaſion of their coming inquired into.*

XI. *Proceedings in that Council.*

XII. *Canons of this Council.*
XIII. *Some Reflections on the form and circumſtances of this Council.*

Anno 753. SECT. I. FRom this time, till towards the end of this Century, when the whole Kingdom of *Mercia* was taken out of the Province of *Canterbury*, and the Controverſy about the Worſhip of Images diſturbed the *Engliſh* Church, our Hiſtories have little elſe to entertain the Reader with, but the Miſeries of War, and the changes it produced, except what relates to the Succeſſions and Deaths of the Clergy; and theſe have been ſo carefully related by ſo many other hands, that the omiſſion will need no excuſe.

But whilſt our Hiſtorians are thus barren, the Revolutions abroad are very extraordinary and ſurpriſing, and ſuch as had in after-times a mighty influence on all the Affairs of Chriſtendom, and on the Church of *England* in particular; and therefore to ſet that Hiſtory in its true Light, it will be requiſite to look abroad, and obſerve the Revolutions in the Empire, and the Influences thereof on the Affairs of Religion, eſpecially in the Weſtern Churches.

The Northern People had not only torn *Britain*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, and a great part of *Italy* it ſelf from the *Roman* Empire, but left the little remains of *Italy* in ſuch circumſtances, that it never ceaſed languiſhing till *Rome* it ſelf, which had hitherto given the Name to the Empire, was about the middle of this Century cut off from it; and though there were doubtleſs many other concurrent cauſes, yet the Affairs of Religion had a great ſhare therein; the *Monothelite* Hereſy, which had given ſo much trouble to the laſt Age, revived again with this, and the Emperor *Philippicus* ran ſo fiercely into the Intereſt of that Hereſy, that he not only gained a Council to eſtabliſh it, and condemn that of *Conſtantinople*, (*a*) but ſent directions to *Conſtantine*, Biſhop of *Rome*, to act accordingly.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 710.

Conſtantine, and the People of *Rome* were ſo far from obeying, that in oppoſition to the Commands of the Emperor, they cauſed a Picture of the ſix General Councils, whereof that of *Conſtantinople* againſt the *Monothelites* was one, to be drawn upon a Wall of St. *Peter's* Church

Church in *Rome*; this the Emperor commanded to be defaced, and the Biſhop reſtored again (*a*); and proceeding in his reſentment, he would not ſuffer the Image of the Emperor, according to cuſtom, to be ſet up in the Church, and cauſed his Name to be left out of the Dypticks of the Church: And ſo far did this Faction proceed, that when the Emperor would have removed *Chriſtopher*, the Duke or Governour of *Rome*, and have put in *Peter* in his room, as fitter to govern that City under this diſorder, the People oppoſed the change, and ſeveral Perſons were ſlain on both ſides (*b*). Thus things paſſed about the Year 710.

(*a*) Ibid.

(*b*) Ibid.

SECT. II. Before this Breach was made up, the famous Controverſy about the Worſhip of Images broke out; for the *Saracens* had not only broke in upon the Eaſtern parts of the Empire, but proceeded ſo far as to beſiege *Conſtantinople* it ſelf; and animated their People in their Cruelties upon the Chriſtians, by charging them with Idolatry in the Worſhip of Images; and therefore *Leo Iſaurus*, the Emperor, to deliver his People from this pretence for the Cruelty of their Enemies, and the Church from the reproach of Idolatry, did, by a ſevere Edict, command that Images ſhould every where be taken out of the Churches; and at *Conſtantinople* cauſed thoſe to be put to Death who refuſed to obey (*c*): And becauſe *Germanus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, refuſed to execute this Edict, the Emperor depoſed him, and ſet up *Anaſtaſius* in his ſtead (*d*), who took his Pattern from the Emperor, and ſent his Exhortation to the Biſhop of *Rome* to do the like (*e*). But this Proceeding had the ſame effect that violent Councils in Matters of Religion uſually have, and did not ſucceed.

Anno 753.

(*c*) Pii. *Pont. Decad.* Blond. *Epit. Lib.* 10. *Fol.* 23.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid.

Therefore, about the Year 726 the Emperor publiſh'd a general Edict to the ſame effect (*f*); *Gregory* the Second, then Biſhop of *Rome*, inſtead of complying with this Edict, called a Council, which met at *Rome*, wherein it was decreed, that the uſe of Images ſhould be continued in their Churches (*g*); and an *Anathema* was pronounced againſt the Emperor, and all that had joined with him in forbidding the uſe thereof (*h*); and that Prelate wrote a Letter to the Emperor, very haughty, and full of new Maxims, and ſtopped the Money the Emperor was raiſing in *Italy*; and not only ſo, but he withdrew the People

(*f*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 726.

(*g*) Pii. *Epit. Decad.* Blond. *Lib.* 10. *fol.* 23.

(*h*) Ciacon. *Vit.* Greg. II. *Anno* 716. *Col.* 242.

People and the Army of *Italy* from their Obedience (*a*), and raiſed a Rebellion againſt the Emperor (*b*). And the account *Zonoras* gives of this whole Tranſaction is much the ſame (*c*); and ſo is that of *Eutropius* (*d*); but with this difference, that he charges this defection more particularly on Pope *Gregory*, and ſaith, that by his means *Rome*, and all *Italy*, were withdrawn from the Empire.

(*a*) Mezeray *Anno* 740.

(*b*) De Marca *Concord. Sacer. & Imper. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. *pag.* 3.

(*c*) *Hiſtor. rerum Orient. fol.* 101 & 103.

(*d*) Eutropii *Hiſt. Roman. Lib.* 21. *p.* 294. *Ab Anno* 753. *ad Ann.* 756.

SECT. III. *Baronius* quarrels the Authority of the *Greek* Hiſtorians in this particular, as deſigning to reflect Diſhonour on the Biſhops of *Rome*, and the *Latin* Church, and reproaches them with Ignorance of the Hiſtory of the Weſtern Church, as *Monſieur du Pin* does with Deſign and Malice to the Biſhops of *Rome* (*e*); and both thoſe Learned Writers are at ſome pains to clear thoſe Prelates, eſpecially *Gregory* the Second, from a Reproach which ſeems to lie heavy upon his Memory: But, after all, if the Honour of the Biſhops and Church, or at leaſt the Court of *Rome* had not been touched in this Affair, the Authority of the *Greek* Hiſtorians had paſſed unqueſtioned.

(*e*) *Antiquæ Eccleſ. Diſcipl. pag.* 508.

To ſay no more, the very Epiſtles of *Gregory* the Second and Third, *Zachary* and *Stephen*, to *Charles Martel*, and *Carloman* and *Pipin*, his Sons, publiſhed by that Learned Hiſtorian *Baronius*; and in ſeveral Editions of the Council, put it beyond a doubt, that the Biſhops of *Rome* had a great ſhare in withdrawing the People of *Rome* from their Duty to their rightful Prince, and bringing the Empire to the *Franks*, if they were not the ſole Contrivers of it.

Paulus Diaconus (*f*) does, as *Baronius* obſerves, ſay, that upon the general diſcontent of the *Italians* they would have abandoned *Leo* the Emperor, and have choſen a new one, if the Biſhop of *Rome* had not perſwaded them to the contrary. But if one compares the date of this particular, with the Letters of the Biſhops of *Rome*, to *Charles Martel*, and the ſubſequent Matters of Fact, one will find it difficult to prove the Dutifulneſs of thoſe Prelates, from the Inſtance *Baronius* lays ſo much ſtreſs upon.

(*f*) P. Diaconi *de Geſt. Longobard. Lib.* 6. *cap.* 14.

Thus much is evident, that in the place that *Baronius* quotes for the proof of it, *Paulus Diaconus* ſaith, that the then Biſhop of *Rome*, which was *Gregory* the Second, deſpiſed the Command of *Leo* the Emperor (*g*). And

(*g*) Ibid.

Ciaco-

Ciaconius, who was never thought partial to the prejudice of the Biſhops of *Rome* by *Baronius*, does, in the Life of *Conſtantine* ſay, he oppoſed the Emperor *Philippicus* to his Face (*a*), and aſcribes the tearing of *Italy* from the Empire, partly to the Controverſy about Images (*b*); and in the Life of his Succeſſor, Pope *Gregory* the Second, that Writer ſaith, that *Gregory* forbad the *Italians* to pay their cuſtomary Tribute to the Emperor (*c*), and that this his Conduct was occaſioned by the Controverſy about Images.

(*a*) Ciacon. *Vit.* Conſtan. *Col.* 240.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ciacon. *Vit.* Gregor II. *Col.* 242.

But *Bellarmine*, who lived in a time when the Court of *Rome* made no difficulty to own the depoſing Doctrine, does, as *Monſieur du Pin* obſerves, not only avow, that *Gregory* the Second excommunicated the Emperor *Leo Iſaurus*, and forbad the *Italians* to pay him Tribute, but ſaith, that if we believe ſome Men he depoſed him; (*d*) and that Learned Writer *Monſieur du Pin*, is ſo far from clearing *Gregory* from that Imputation, that all he has ſaid will prove nothing elſe to one who conſiders the whole Series of the Story, but that this Learned Writer does very worthily own his deteſtation of the depoſing Doctrine.

(*d*) Du Pin *de Antiqua Eccleſ. Diſcipl. pag.* 508.

But to whatever Cauſe it is to be aſcribed, thus much is certain, that in the time of *Leo Iſaurus*, the People of *Rome*, *Ravenna*, and *Venice*, and ſuch other parts of *Italy* as had till then remained in obedience to the Empire, did generally revolt (*e*); and, for the moſt part, the Cities choſe themſelves Dukes (*f*), and the Great Men, that were able, ſet up little Sovereignties out of the Spoils of the Empire.

(*e*) Pii *Pontif.* *Decad.* Blond. *Epit. Lib.* 10. *fol.* 23. *C.*

(*f*) Ibid.

The Difficulties the Empire at this time ſtruggled under, put it out of the Power of the Emperor to chaſtiſe the Diſobedience; but under the Reign of *Conſtantine Copronimus*, about the Year 753, *Aſtolphus*, King of the *Lombards*, carried home the Revenge that People had deſerved, and ſeized the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and the *Pentapolis*, and carried his Conqueſt to the Walls of *Rome*, and then challenged the Obedience of the Biſhop and People thereof, as due to him in Right of his Conqueſt. *Stephen*, at this time Biſhop of *Rome*, applied himſelf to *Pipin*, King of the *Franks*, who, at his entreaty, entered *Italy* with an Army, and recovered all the *Lombards* had taken.

SECT. IV. The Emperor *Conſtantine* hearing of this Succeſs of *Pipin*, and ſuſpecting his Deſign, ſent his Embaſſador to *Pipin*, who told this Prince, that the Biſhop and People of *Rome* were the Subjects of his Maſter, and the Præfecture of *Ravenna* as unqueſtionably his Right, as *Paris* was the Right of *Pipin*; and therefore intreated, that the Places he had conquered might be delivered to him, to whom they did unqueſtionably belong (*a*). To which *Pipin* anſwered, that he came into *Italy* on purpoſe to oblige the Biſhop and People of *Rome*, and that he would be juſt to his Undertaking; and conſidering he had no other way to ſecure the Biſhop and People of *Rome* in his Intereſt, and thereby the vaſt Deſigns he had formed, inſtead of reſtoring them to the Emperor, he made a Preſent of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, comprehending *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Torly*, *Ceſenna*, *Bobia*, *Ferrara*, and *Adria*; and of the *Pentapole*, comprehending *Rimini*, *Peſaro*, *Conca*, *Fano*, *Serigalia*, *Ancona*, and ſome other leſſer places, to the Biſhop and Church of *Rome* (*b*); and for this end ſent his Chaplain, the Abbot of *Fulrad*, (*c*) to offer the Keys of the ſaid Towns on the Altar of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, together with the Articles of Agreement betwixt him and the *Lombards*.

(*a*) P. Æmilii *de Geſt. Franc. fol.* 34. K.

(*b*) Pii *Pontif. Epit. Decad.* Blondel. *Lib.* 10. *fol.* 27. C.

(*c*) Ibid.

And though there is ſome little difference in the time, and in their manner of relating it; yet *Anaſtaſius*, *Baronius* (*d*), *Petavius* (*e*), *P. Æmilius* (*f*), *Mezeray* (*g*), *Blondel* (*h*), and *Ado*, Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, (*i*) do all agree in this Account. And the Inſtrument of the Emperor *Lewis*, about the Year 813, inſerted both into the Body of the Canon Law (*k*), and into *Labbe*'s Collection of the Councils (*l*), and by which the Donations of *Pipin* and *Charlemaign* are ſaid to be confirmed, agrees with the Account of the 'foreſaid Hiſtorians.

(*d*) Baron. *Annal. Anno* 755. *p.* 33.

(*e*) Petavii. *Rationar. Par.* 2. *An.* 756.

(*f*) Æmilius *de Geſtis Francorum.*

(*g*) Mezeray *An.* 756.

(*h*) Pii *Decad.* Blond. *Epit. Lib.* 10. *fol.* 25.

(*i*) Adonis *Chronicon. Ætat.* 6. *p.* 216.

(*k*) *Decreti Diſtinct.* 63. *cap.* 30.

(*l*) *Concil. Tom.* 7. *Ed.* Lab. *Col.* 1515.

The Emperor finding no remedy, was forced to ſit down with the hopes to diſintangle himſelf, and find a time to recover the Rights of the Empire, and chaſtiſe the Rebellion of thoſe who were made great by the Spoils of it; but that time never came, for the Factions and Diſorders of the Empire ſtill encreaſing, and *Pipin* growing ſtill more powerful, there was ſuch a Foundation laid for the grandure of *Charlemaign* his Son, that there was no withſtanding his good Fortune and his Arms;

Arms; but that Prince first possessed himself of the Title of the Emperor of the *West* (*a*), and then forced the Emperor *Nicephorus* to yield both the Title and Division of the Empire, and *Italy* was left within his Division. Thus this Affair begun about the middle of this Century, ended in the beginning of the next.

(*a*) *Chronicon Reginonis. An.* 801.

SECT. V. Though the future Conduct of *Pipin* shews, that notwithstanding the Present he had made to the Bishop of *Rome*, he intended that the City of *Rome*, and all the new Dominions of the Church should be held of him, as the supream Lord thereof; and reserved to himself the nomination of those Prelates, and took an Oath of Fealty from them, at their Investiture; yet the accession he had made to their Power and Figure made a mighty change in the Affairs of that See; for those Prelates were hereby raised to the state of Princes: And this has given just ground to the *French* Historian, to say of *Stephen*, who was Bishop of *Rome* at this time: *That* Stephen, *by the good Offices of the* French, *may be called the Founder of the Liberty of* Rome, *and of the Papal Sovereignty.*

Anno 757.

Stephanus beneficio Francorum conditor Romanæ libertatis, & Pontificii Imperii vocitari possit. P. Æmilius *de Gestis Francor. pag.* 35.

Nor is he singular in this Judgment, for those who were able to trace the Grandure of those Prelates to its true Original, lay the Foundation here; in Memory whereof, there was, as *Baronius* saith, an ancient Table hung up at *Ravenna*, which continued to his time with this Inscription: *Pipinus primus Ampliscandæ Ecclesiæ viam aperiens* (*b*). *To the Memory of* Pipin, *who first opened the way to enlarge the Authority of the Church.* And *Stephen*, at this time Bishop of *Rome*, was so sensible of the change the favour of *Pipin* would produce, that he returned his acknowledgments in a strain of Eloquence, which carries the Marks of the utmost Exultation and Joy (*c*). And in another Epistle to the *French* (*d*) in general, he compares *Pipin* to *Moses* and *David*; and applauds the Services of the *French* Nation, to the Church and Bishops of *Rome*, in such transports of elevation and complacency as shews at once the sense he had of those Favours; and that the Court of *Rome* knew how to relish and enjoy them.

(*b*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 768. *p.* 19.

(*c*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 756. *p.* 9.

(*d*) *Concil. Tom.* 6. Lab. *Col.* 1687.

I have not led the Reader out of his way only to shew, that the World had never yet heard of the later Max-

Maxims in favour of the Papal Power; nor barely to ſhew, that the Biſhops of *Rome* raiſed themſelves as the *Italian* Princes and States generally did, out of the Ruines of the Empire of the *Romans*, or *Franks*; but I have done it to enable him to make a juſt Judgment of the Conduct of thoſe Prelates in the part they bore in the Affairs of the Church of *England*; for we are henceforward to conſider them as Temporal Princes; and being advanced to that State, we muſt not wonder if they act as ſuch, or uſe their Character and Spiritual Authority to ſerve the purpoſes of Ambition and worldly Ends, or to ſtamp the Image of God upon their Intereſts as Secular Princes; at leaſt, this change will be ground enough to ſuſpect the future Conduct of theſe Prelates, and juſtify our Caution and Reſerve, whenever their Secular Intereſts are ſerved, though covered by the moſt ſpecious pretences to Religion, and the care of Souls.

But whilſt the *French* glory in the advancement of a Power which laid out it ſelf to put a Yoke on all the reſt of Chriſtendom, the Flatterers of the Court of *Rome* not only forget their Gratitude, but endeavour to rob the *French* of the Honour they deſerved, and deceive the World into a belief, that the true origin of the Secular Grandure of the Papacy was owing to *Conſtantine the Great*, who, as they pretend, did, by a formal Grant, during his Life, give the City and Territories of *Rome*, his Palace therein, and the Sovereignty of the Weſtern Empire, to the Biſhops of *Rome*. Nor are they content thus to rob the *French*, but ſeem to have taken the firſt thought of that Impoſture, from the real Services the Biſhops of *Rome* received from the *Gallick* Princes.

Anno 757.

SECT. VI. For as *Mezeray* (*a*) obſerves, it is thought by ſome, that the foreſaid Preſent of *Pipin* to the Biſhops and See of *Rome*, was made in the Name of the then Emperor *Conſtantine Copronimus*; and that, if there be any at all, this was the foundation of the fabulous Donation aſcribed to *Conſtantine the Great*. It is a mighty Complement paid by this Great Man, to the Flatterers of the Papal Power, to ſpeak ſo ſoftly of that Affair; for one who looks into the Story of thoſe Ages, and finds *Conſtantine* poſſeſſed of *Rome* and all *Italy*, after the pretended Grant to give them away, enjoying them whilſt he lived, and giving them away when he died;

(*a*) Mezeray *Life of* Pipin. *An.* 756.

died; that the ſecond General Council held at *Conſtantinople* about ſixty Years after his Death, and the fourth held at *Chalcedon* above an hundred Years after, give precedence to the Biſhops of *Rome*, becauſe that City was the chief Seat of the Empire; that the Emperors were poſſeſſed thereof for four hundred Years after the Death of *Conſtantine the Great*, reſiding therein when they pleaſed, and when abſent, governing it by their Præfects, Dukes, or Exarchs Care, need no other Arguments to prove the Impoſture of that pretended Grant.

In ſhort, one who looks into the Body of the Laws of the Empire, drawn together by the appointment of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, and finds many of them were directed to the Biſhops and People of *Rome* as their Subjects, appointing the Officers, and conducting the Government thereof; and that not only all the Hiſtories of the Empire, but of all the known World, do agree in this Account, cannot but ſtand aſtoniſhed to find a pretended Grant of *Conſtantine the Great*, giving away not only his Palace in *Rome*, but that City, *Italy*, and the Weſtern Empire, to the Biſhops of *Rome* (*a*); and this publiſhed by the Authority of thoſe Biſhops, amongſt the moſt venerable Monuments of Antiquity; and in that Body of Laws received by a great part of Chriſtendom, and intended as a Standard to all the reſt.

(*a*) *Decret: Par.* 1 *Diſtinct.* 96. *cap.* 14.

He who well conſiders all this, will find it very difficult to ſpeak otherwiſe of the pretended Grant of *Conſtantine*, then as one of the coarſeſt, ill-contriv'd, and moſt impudent, and ſhameleſs Impoſtures that was ever offered to Mankind; therefore, notwithſtanding the pretended Right of *Conſtantine*, if we conſider to whom the Reſolution of uniting the *French*, and ſubjecting the *Germans* to the Biſhop of *Rome* was owing, what was now done by *Pipin*, and afterwards by his Son *Charlemaign*, it ſeems highly reaſonable to leave the *French* quiet and undiſturb'd in the Honour they pretend to, in being the Founders of the Papal Greatneſs; and let their great Hiſtorian ſay, uncontroul'd, *That the Popes had the beſt portion of their Temporal Grandure from the* French *Kings* (*b*).

(*b*) Mezeray *Life of* Charlemaign. *Anno* 774. *pag.* 99.

But if one looks forward, and obſerves the perpetual Jealouſies and Quarrels betwixt the Empire and the Papacy, and conſiders, that the ſame Power that *Pipin* and

Charlemaign ſet up in *Rome*, was the Power that forced the ſucceeding Emperors out of *Rome* and *Italy* too, and uſed them but very coarſly in *Germany*, there will be little reaſon to envy the *French*, and too much ground to compare their Glory to the Goard of the Prophet, which was beautiful indeed, but gave being to the Worm that quickly withered and deſtroyed it.

Anno 758. SECT. VII. Whilſt the reſt of *Europe* had a preſent ſhare in the Revolutions of the *Roman* Church and Empire, the *Engliſh* Church for a while ſtood looking on, and unconcerned beheld the change; for except ſuch Alterations as Death had made, the *Engliſh* Church was much in the ſame ſtate as when we entred on the relation of Affairs abroad, and our Story ſo barren, that unleſs we dreſs up the Dreams and Viſions of the Age, or bring the Legends of later date into Story, there is little to entertain one with, except what relates to the Succeſſion of the *Engliſh* Biſhops, where the changes were theſe which follow.

Anno 766. *Cuthbert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, died in the Year 758, and *Bregwin* ſucceeded the following Year, and he dying about the end of three Years, was ſucceeded by *Lambertus*. About the Year 766 died the firſt Archbiſhop of *York*, *Egbert*, with the reputation of a great Collector of Books, a great Scholar, and which is infinitely more, of a wiſe and uſeful Prelate; he had been bred under *Bede*, at leaſt *Bede* had been aſſiſtant to him in his Studies (*a*); that Prelate had the good Fortune to have the Education of one of the greateſt Men of the Age, and this was *Alcuinus*, Tutor and Favourite to *Charles the Great* of *France* (*b*); and, if we do not flatter our Nation, the Founder of the Schools in *Paris*, ſo deſervedly eminent in after Ages.

(*a*) *Epiſt.* Bed. *ad* Egbert. *pag.* 252.

(*b*) Sigebert. *Gembl. Chronograph. An.* 790.

There is a Body of Canons, and a *Pœnitential*, which paſs under the Name of *Egbert*'s Collections, not unlike thoſe aſcribed to *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and it ſeems as much for the Honour of *Egbert*, they ſhould have the ſame Judgment paſſed upon them, and be eſteem'd, if not the Work of later Ages, yet that it received many Additions after his time; at leaſt, there are ſome things that ſeem to have the air of Men skilled in the Arts of Luſt, and no way becoming the Modeſty and Purity of a Holy Prelate, the plainneſs

of

of the Age, or the Account his Scholar *Alcuinus* gives of this great Man.

SECT. VIII. And, except in changes of this kind, things continued much in the ſame poſture, till ſome Alterations in Political Affairs occaſioned a conſiderable change in the Government of the Church; for *Offa*, a bold and daring young Prince, was advanced to the Kingdom of *Mercia*, about the Year 758, his reſtleſs and uneaſie Spirit ingaged him in frequent Wars, wherein he was for the moſt part ſucceſsful, and his Succeſſes formed new and ambitious Proſpects, and ingaged him in a reſolution to model the Church of the *Mercians*, to anſwer the Idea he had conceived of his own Power and Conduct; and this gave beginning to his deſign, to make the Church within his Kingdom independent on the See of *Canterbury*; and in order thereunto he obliged the Biſhops of his Kingdom to withdraw their Obedience from their Metropolitan; and *Lichfield* being then the chief City and Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, he cauſed his Biſhops to own the Biſhop of that See as their Metropolitan; and to give the better Grace to what he had done, after ſome time he ſent to *Rome*, and from Pope *Adrian* obtained a Pall for his new Archbiſhop, but he had firſt put that Truſt into his hands, and proceeded ſo far in this Affair, without conſulting the Biſhop of *Rome*, that it is manifeſt, that his application to the See of *Rome* for a Pall, was intended only to colour what he had before determined, and in ſome meaſure put into practice. *Anno* 770.

And therefore when the *Engliſh* Biſhops did afterwards, in an Epiſtle to Pope *Leo*, blame Pope *Adrian* for countenancing the violence offered to the See of *Canterbury*; the Fault they charge him with, was no other than confirming or recognizing what *Offa* had done (*a*). And in *Leo*'s Anſwer to them (*b*), he is ſo far from owning, that Pope *Adrian* erected the Archbiſhoprick of *Lichfield*, that he tells thoſe Prelates, that all the concern that Pope had in that Affair, was no more than in ſending a Pall to the new Archbiſhop, and that upon the deſire of King *Offa*, and the Biſhops and Nobility of *England* (*c*), plainly aſcribing that Work to the Authority of the Prince, and the National Church.

(*a*) *Anglia Sacra. Pars* 1. p. 461.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

And

And indeed it is very manifeſt, by all the circumſtances of this Story, that all the ſhare that Prelate had in this Affair, and all that was expected from him, was no more than an honorary Recognition, or at moſt a confirmation of what had before been done in *England*, and what would have been good without it. But it is much eaſier to ſhew, by their Epiſtles on this occaſion, that neither the Biſhops of *Rome* or *England* aſcribed the erecting the See of *Lichfield* into an Archbiſhoprick, to the ſending of a Pall to the Biſhops thereof, or to any act of the Biſhops of *Rome*, than to clear the Chronology, and aſcertain the time and circumſtances of doing it.

Anno 785. SECT. IX. For our Hiſtorians are ſo ill agreed upon that Subject, that *M. Weſtminſter* and *M. Paris*, place the Succeſſion of *Adulphus*, Biſhop of *Lichfield*, and his advancement to the ſtate of Archbiſhop, in the Year 765, and the receiving of his Pall in the Year following, and make *Berthune* and *Highbert* his Succeſſors in the See of *Lichfield*; whereas, on the contrary, *Malmsbury*, and *Florentius* invert that Order, and make *Berthune* and *Highbert* Predeceſſors to *Adulph*, and fix the Succeſſion of *Aldulph* twenty Years lower. The *Saxon* Chronicle fixes the Advancement of *Highbert* in the Year 785 (*a*); and yet in the ſame Work we find his Name and Character ten Years before, (*b*) but it is amongſt the Witneſſes to a Leaſe let by *Beonne*, Abbot of *Peterborough*; and there is ſo much reaſon to think, that they who had skill enough to make Charters, knew how to make Leaſes and corrupt Hiſtory too, that one would rather think, that ſeeming contradiction is owing to an Interpolation of later date, than to thoſe who firſt obliged the World with that noble Monument of Antiquity.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 785.

(*b*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 775.

In ſhort, the Succeſſions of the Biſhops of the See of *Lichfield* are loaded with ſo many difficulties, that that Learned Author, who laboured ſo ſucceſsfully in things of this kind, does not ſtick to ſay, that the difficulties of Succeſſion in that See, betwixt the Year 768 and the Year 800 were invincible (*c*), and yet the exact time of dividing the Province of *Canterbury* is not to be aſcertained, but by ſettling the Succeſſions in that See of *Lichfield*, on which it does chiefly depend.

(*c*) *Angliæ Sac. Par.* 1. *p.* 429.

Thus

Thus much is certain, that that Archbiſhoprick was founded by *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, confirmed by *Adrian*, whilſt *Lambert* or *Jambert* was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and that *Offa* forced *Jambert* to yield to the dividing his Province at the Council of *Calcuith*; and it is certain, *Adrian* came not to the Papacy till the Year 772, which makes it evident, that *M. Weſtminſter*, and *M. Paris* are miſtaken in their Account of this Affair; and, on the contrary, there is great appearance of truth in the conjecture of Mr. *Wharton* (*a*), that *Berthune*, Biſhop of *Lichfield*, died in the Year 785, that *Higbert* was the ſame Year choſen his Succeſſor, and that at the Council held at *Calcuith* within that Year, *Jambert* forced by *Offa*, conſented to yield up a part of his Province to the Government of *Higbert*. *Anno* 785.

(a) *Angl. Sac. Par.* 1. *p.* 429.

But *Higbert* did not aſſume the Title of Archbiſhop till the Council of *Calcuith* was over, and died the Year following, before he received a Pall. *Adulph* ſucceeding the ſame Year took upon himſelf the Title of Archbiſhop, and his Title was acknowledged by a Pall from Pope *Adrian*, and not long after this violence offered to the See of *Canterbury*, *Offa* having over-ran the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and made it a tributary and dependant State, he laid both that and the Kingdom of *Mercia* into the new Province of *Lichfield* (*b*); by this change the Biſhops of *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Leiceſter*, and *Sydnaceſter* within the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the Biſhops of *Helmanſted* and *Dunmoc*, in the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, became Suffragans to the new Archbiſhop of *Lichfield*.

(b) Malmsb. *de Geſt. Pontif. Lib.* 1 *fol.* 113.

SECT. X. It is little leſs difficult to aſcertain the Time, or adjuſt the Circumſtances of the Council of *Calcuith*, than to fix the diviſion of the Province of *Canterbury*; for ſome place this Council in the preſent Year, ſome in the Year preceeding (*c*), and ſome two Years after (*d*), and others three (*e*); but that which is plain, and in which our Hiſtorians generally agree, is, that about this time *Gregory* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and *Theophylact* Biſhop of *Todi*, two *Italian* Biſhops, came into *England*, with the Character of the Legates of *Adrian*, Biſhop of *Rome*; and during their continuance here, there were ſeveral Meetings of the Kings, Biſhops, and Nobility, wherein ſeveral things relating to Faith and Diſcipline were, by thoſe Prelates, propoſed and allowed of by the *Engliſh* *Anno* 786.

(c) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 785. Florent. Wigorn. *An.* 785.

(d) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* I. *pag.* 304.

(e) M. Weſtm. *An.* 789.

Kings, Nobility, and Clergy; theſe are contained under twenty Heads, and paſs under the Title of the Canons of the Council of *Calcuith* (*a*).

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Tom.* I. *pag.* 292.

Theſe Legates were ſent by Pope *Adrian*, to inquire into the ſtate of the *Engliſh* Church; and in their Speech to the *Engliſh* Biſhops, the Legates tell them, that they were the firſt Prieſts that had ever been ſent from *Rome* to *England*, ſince the Days of *Auſtin* the Monk (*b*). If we add to this, that theſe Legates were accompanied into *England* by Perſons deputed by *Charles the Great* of *France*, there being at this time a ſtrict Friendſhip betwixt *Charles*, and *Offa* King of the *Mercians*; that they ſaw *Jambert*, or *Lambert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in their way, but were received with great Joy by *Offa* (*c*); that the Archbiſhop was forced to yield up, or as others ſay, to reſign a part of his Province, in one of the Aſſemblies theſe Legates had the Conduct of; and that the Arts of oppreſſing the Clergy by Legantine Power, ſo heavily complained of by after Ages, were yet unknown to the World: one is apt to conclude, that theſe Prelates came to *England* on the Inſtance of *Offa*, to intimidate the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to colour the deſign of that Prince to divide his Province.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

And if they came unſought for, the Succeſſes of *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and Legate of the Biſhops of *Rome*, lie ſo near and ſo open, that one can ſcarce help thinking, that one has the true Key to the Zeal of Pope *Adrian*.

Anno 787. SECT. XI. But whatever the Reaſons of their coming were, theſe Legates being arrived, made no ſtay at *Canterbury*, but haſted to the places, where they hoped for better welcome. *Gregory*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, went away to the Court of *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, probably at *Lichfield*; *Theophylact*, Biſhop of *Todi*, to the North, where he took up his Quarters with *Eanbald*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and ſending to *Oſred* the Second, King of *Northumberland*, that Prince appointed the meeting of his Clergy and Nobility in Council, where, inſtead of entering into Conſultation or Debate, or proceeding by way of Suffrage, according to the uſual method of Councils, *Theophylact* delivered his Sentiments on ſeveral Heads (*d*): And this his Speech or Advice, for ſo it appears, rather than the Decrees of Council, was, when ended,

(*d*) *Concil. Brit. Tom.* I. *pag.* 292.

ended, ſigned with the ſign of the Croſs, as well by the King and Nobility of *Northumberland*, as by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, and the Abbots, and ſuch of the Lower Clergy of the Province of *York* as were preſent at this Aſſembly.

But their Subſcriptions run in ſuch manner as ſhew, what ſenſe they had of this Affair, that of *Eanbald*, Archbiſhop of *York*, runs: *For he Subſcribes to it as to a Pious and Catholick Paper.* And the Subſcriptions of all the Lower Clergy, the Abbots, Nobility, and Judges are all anſwerable hereunto, and run thus: *We approve theſe wholſome Advices.*

Hujus chartulæ piæ & Catholicæ taxationi ſigno ſanctæ crucis ſubſcripſi.

Saluberrimis admonitionibus ſubſcripſimus.

And the Legates, as well in the thirteenth Article, as in their Addreſs to Pope *Adrian*, uſe the ſame terms. Where this Northern Aſſembly was held, does not appear. Things having paſſed in this manner in the *North*, the Biſhop of *Todi* went to the mid part of *England*, to a place called *Calcuith*; where King *Offa*, and the *Engliſh* Biſhops South of *Humber* met together, and the Advices which had been delivered to the Clergy of the *North* were produced, with the Subſcriptions made in the Northern Aſſembly, and read firſt in *Latin*, and then in *Engliſh*; and being approved, were ſubſcribed by King *Offa*, *Jambert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and twelve other Biſhops, ſome of whoſe Names, and which is more, their Sees are intirely unknown to our Hiſtorians.

SECT. XII. This Aſſembly being broken up, the Diſcourſes which paſs under the Title of Canons, were, by the Legates, drawn into the form of an Epiſtle, and ſent by them to *Adrian*, Biſhop of *Rome*: In the firſt part whereof they tell that Prelate, they had recommended to the *Engliſh* Church the Faith and Diſcipline of the firſt ſix General Councils: In the ſecond, that they had taught them the ancient form of Baptiſm, and the Duty of Godfathers: In the third, that they had required the Biſhops to meet twice a Year in Council; and once a Year to go through their reſpective Dioceſſes, to preach to their People, to confirm, to diſſolve Inceſtuous Marriages, and uſe their beſt care to ſuppreſs Sorcery, Witchcraft, and all Vice: In the fourth, they ſay, they had directed the Habits of Canons, Monks, and Nuns. In the fifth and ſixth, the qualification of Abbots and Abbeſſes, Prieſts

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Prieſts and Deacons. The ſeventh directs the obſervance of the Hours of Prayer. The eighth, that the ancient Privileges granted by the Biſhops of *Rome* be obſerved. The ninth forbids the Clergy to eat alone. The tenth forbids the Prieſt to celebrate Maſs bare-legg'd, or to uſe Chalices, or Patents of Horn.

In the middle of this Article they tell Pope *Adrian*, that they had ſeen the *Engliſh* Biſhops, in their Courts, judge of Secular, as well as of Spiritual Affairs; and that they had admoniſhed them, according to the Advice of the Apoſtle, not to entangle themſelves in worldly Affairs.

In the eleventh, they tell Pope *Adrian*, that they had given Advice to the Kings and Princes of *England*, how to conduct themſelves in the diſcharge of their Truſts, and particularly, in the reſpect they ought to pay to Biſhops, and the Reaſons and Arguments they had made uſe of on this Subject.

In the twelfth, they pretend to direct the choice of Kings, and the Obedience that is due to them.

The thirteenth Article has the Title of the thirteenth Admonition and Advice, and is directed to Judges and Magiſtrates to diſcharge their Truſts with Integrity and Impartiality; and this is inforced by many Texts of Scripture.

The fourteenth is in the ſame ſtrain, and has nothing that looks like a Canon, or Decree of a Council, but imports, that they who deſire to live in Friendſhip with the Church of *Rome*, muſt endeavour to avoid Injuſtice, and to lay no greater Burthens upon the Churches, than what were laid upon them by the ancient Uſages of former Emperors and Kings; thus, ſay they, there will be a general Union amongſt Chriſtians in Faith and Charity, and under *one Head, and that is Chriſt.*

The fifteenth directs the puniſhing of Inceſtuous Marriages.

The ſixteenth forbids Baſtards to inherit.

The ſeventeenth aſſerts the payment of Tythes from the Levitical Law, forbids Uſury, and appoints Weights and Meaſures.

The eighteenth is a long Diſcourſe to prove the practice and neceſſity of performing Vows.

The

The nineteenth contains Advice, not to imitate the Uſages of Pagans, together with a Charge againſt the *Engliſh* People, for imitating Pagans in the faſhion of their Cloaths; for diſfiguring their Horſes, by ſlitting their Noſtrils, tying their Ears together, and cutting off their Tails; for Sorcery, and the eating of Horſe-fleſh.

The twentieth is a Diſcourſe of the Nature and Neceſſity of Repentance; but adds too, that ſuch as depart this Life without Repentance and Confeſſion, are not not to have the Prayers of the Church.

SECT. XIII. Thus ſtands the Account of this Council, as well in our Hiſtorians, as in the Collections of *Spelman* and *Labbe*; ſo that if the Hiſtorians of this Age did not teach us to uſe the words Synod and Council, to ſignify Aſſemblies of all kinds, whether for Religious, or Secular, or Mixt Affairs, we ſhould be at a loſs for a Name to this Aſſembly. In the Collections of the Learned Collector of the *Britiſh* Councils, it has the Name of a National Legantine Council: But in the Hiſtory of *Monſieur du Pin* it is ſhrunk up, and called the Council of *Northumberland*; and if what is delivered down to us under the Title of Canons, be miſcalled, the Speech, or Charge of a Biſhop, or a Narrative of their Proceedings, ſent from the Legates to Pope *Adrian*, the Stile, Form, and Circumſtances of this Aſſembly, have occaſioned, and ſeem to juſtify this Miſtake. *Anno* 788.

And the Names at the foot of this Council do rather leſſen, than any way add to the reputation of it; for amongſt the Subſcribing Biſhops, there are ſome whoſe Names, others whoſe Sees are intirely unknown to our Hiſtorians; beſides, in the Body of this Council it is ſaid, three or four times, that the Archbiſhop and Biſhops ſigned with the Sign of the Croſs; but there's no mention of ſubſcribing their Names: And though *Bede* does ſeem to ſay, this was done in the Council of *Hatfield*, yet in all the Copies thereof, which have hitherto been made publick, we have the Names of the Biſhops inſerted by the Actuary, in the Preamble, but no Subſcriptions at the foot of that Council.

And as there is no Inſtance of this kind, in any preceding or ſubſequent *Engliſh* Council before the Conqueſt, ſo it appears by the ſixth Canon of the Council of *Cloveſhoe*, in the Year 816, that the Uſage of ſigning

Councils with the ſign of the Croſs was continued. Beſides, what is ſaid before in the Subſcriptions made in the Northern Aſſembly, there are mentioned two Biſhops more than were at that time Biſhopricks within the Kingdom of *Northumberland*; of which one of them, that is, *Adulphus Myrenſis Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus*, is one whoſe See was never yet heard of; and *Æthelwine* is no where to be found in the Catalogue of the Northern Biſhops; and there are ſeveral of the Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury*, whoſe Names are not to be heard of in the compaſs of this Age.

And the Names we meet with no way agree with the Accounts we have of their Succeſſions: Thus, according to *M. Weſtminſter*, *Edeulphus* Biſhop of *Lindeſey*, came not to that See till the Year after this Council. *Unwona*, who ſtands next to him in the order of the Subſcribers, is ſaid to be Biſhop of *Leiceſter*; and yet amongſt the Subſcribing Biſhops we have the Name of *Totta*, though that Name is no where to be found in the Catalogue of the *Engliſh* Biſhops, but amongſt the Biſhops of *Leiceſter*, in which See he ſucceeded about the Year 737, and died about the Year 764, according to the *Faſti*; and was ſucceeded firſt by *Edbertus*, and after his Death by *Unwona*. And one who compares the Names of the following Subſcribers, with the Catalogues of the Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury*, at the time of this Council, will find great reaſon to believe, that thoſe who ſigned this Council, ſigned it no otherwiſe than with the Sign of the Croſs; that the addition of Names is a work of a later date.

Upon the whole Matter, one cannot forbear to think, that if ever there was ſuch a Council in due form, as that ſaid to be held about this time at *Calcuith*, the World has not yet been obliged with a true Copy of it; and that the remains we have thereof, are rather the Hiſtory or Narrative of the Proceedings of the Legates, than true and genuine Canons of an *Engliſh* Council.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Ab Anno 792 ad Annum 795.

SECT. I. *THE Controverſy about Image-Worſhip begins in* England: *The occaſion thereof: The ſenſe and practice of the firſt Ages in this particular.*

II. *The Time and occaſion of introducing Images into the Church: Worſhip thereof not allowed in the Seventh Century, in the Church of* Rome.

III. *Council of* Conſtantinople *forbids the Worſhip and uſe of Images: Imperial Edicts on that ſubject: Oppoſition made by the Biſhops and People of* Italy: *A Schiſm and Rebellion occaſioned thereby.*

IV. *Empreſs* Irene *declares for the Worſhip of Images, attempts to ſettle it by a Council held at* Conſtantinople: *Is oppoſed by the Biſhops and People, and forced to deſiſt.*

V. *A Council called to meet at* Nice, *declares in favour of Images: Account of that Council by the Council of* Frankfort: *Condemned thereby.*

VI. *Diſputes about the Judgment of the Council of* Frankfort: *The Grounds thereof. Second Council of* Nice *inexcuſable.*

VII. *General oppoſition to the Worſhip of Images.* Engliſh *Church reſents the Proceeding of the Council of* Nice: *Declares againſt the Worſhipping of Images: Ingages* Alcuinus *to write againſt it.*

VIII. Alcuinus's *Book againſt Images loſt. Senſe of the Council of* Francfort *denied by ſome, allowed by* Baronius, Labbe, Mezeray's, *and* Du Pin's *Account of that Council. Worſhip of Images rejected by the* Engliſh, French, *and* Germans.

IX. *Doctrine of Reliques eſtabliſhed by the Second Council of* Nice: *Ill effects thereof: Monks ſerve themſelves by pretended Reliques: The Reception this Doctrine met with in* England.

X. *Body of St.* Alban *ſaid to have been diſcovered to King* Offa: *A Synod ſaid to be called, for taking up the Reliques of that Saint: A Monaſtery erected*

to

to his Memory. Peter-Pence *said to be granted about this time: Grounds of that pretence: The Inference of* Polidore Virgil *from hence: That falsly called a Tribute.*

XI. Baronius *follows* Polidore *in his Account of this Affair. No such Grant at this time as a Peny a House. True Account of that Affair: Ridiculous Inferences made from thence.*

XII. *Reason of relating the 'foresaid Story of* Offa's *pretended Vision: His Character.*

XIII. *The Marks of Falshood in the Story of the Reliques of St.* Alban: *Grounds of this Charge: Privileges said to be granted to that Monastery.*

Anno 792. SECT. I. FRom the Synod of *Calcuith*, till this time, we are in the dark, only we are told, that there were several Councils in this Interval; of which one is said to be held at *Wincenhale* or *Pyncanhale*, and another at *Acclam* in the *North*; and both said to be held in the Year 788 by some, by others, in the Year 792, but if there ever were such Councils in *England*, at present there remains no more of them but the Names. But about this time the Controversy about the Worship of Images, which, for about sixty Years past, had occasioned a Schism in the Eastern Church, broke in upon the Churches of *England*.

This was occasioned by a Copy of the second Council of *Nice*, sent to *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, by *Charles the Great* of *France*: But because this has continued a long subject of Controversy to the Christian Church, and has produced a great deal of Faction and Mischief in States, as well as Division in the Church, it may not be amiss to look backward, and observe the Rise, the Steps, and Consequence of this Controversy: It is manifest beyond dispute, that the Rule of Gospel-Worship, that God was to be *Worshipped in Spirit and in Truth*, was understood by the Apostles and first Christians, not only to exclude the Rites of the Ceremonial Law, but to be infinitely more inconsistent with the Symbolical Worship of the *Gentiles* by Images, and visible Representations of the Being they adored; and therefore the Apostles, and first Planters of the Gospel,

as

as they laboured to poſſeſs the *Jews* with the neceſſity of laying aſide the Ritual Law, did, with equal Zeal, labour to deliver the World from the low and mean Conceptions of the Divine Being, and the undue manner of Worſhipping him in uſe amongſt the *Gentiles*; and it is as manifeſt they were ſucceſsful in both: And upon this ground, the uſe of Images was not only univerſally laid aſide, where-ever the Chriſtian Religion prevailed, but was eſteemed a direct violation of the Rule of Worſhip which the Goſpel had preſcribed.

SECT. II. In this manner things continued, till the Inundations of the Northern People, in the fifth and ſixth Centuries, did, in a great meaſure, reſtore Paganiſm to the Weſtern Nations: And this terrible Judgment, which ſhould have made the Weſtern Chriſtians wiſe to Holineſs and Devotion, had a very contrary effect, and put them on ſtudying to be wiſe out of the ways of God. And hence it came to paſs, that in the Converſion of thoſe Northern People, they were permitted to bring ſome of their Pagan Rites into the Chriſtian Church. *Anno* 792.

And it ſeems very probable, that it was Indulgence to this People, who had been accuſtomed to worſhip by Images, that introduced them into Churches; for tho' there is reaſon to believe, that the Images and Pictures of the Emperors had ſome Ages before been ſet up in Churches; yet it is manifeſt, theſe were Prerogatives by which the Honours paid to the Emperors were diſtinguiſhed; and that for the ſame reaſon, and for the ſame ends, their Statues were ſet up in Senate-Houſes, Markets, and other places of publick Concourſe; and it ſeems not unlikely, that this way of doing Civil Honour to their Emperors, might diſpoſe the Minds of ſome Chriſtians, to ſet up the Statues of ſome of their Great Men, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by greater Holineſs, or great Sufferings for the ſake of Chriſt.

But this Uſage, if begun, never made any conſiderable Progreſs, till the Inundations of the *Huns*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, had overſpread the Empire; but theſe People having driven Learning out of the Empire, thrown down Churches, and, for the moſt part, deſtroyed the Clergy of the Weſtern Nations, by the ſad circumſtances they were reduced to, the Clergy of the ſixth and ſeventh

Ages became Partakers in the Ignorance and Barbarity thereof; and therefore, conſidering the time when theſe rude People were converted, and the Clergy who had the conduct of their Converſion, one cannot wonder they were permitted to bring the uſe of Images with them into Churches.

Thus much appears, by an Epiſtle of *Gregory the Great*, to *Serenus* Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, about the Year 601, that ſome of theſe People newly converted, ſeparated themſelves from that Prelate, becauſe he would not ſuffer them to ſet up any more Images in their Churches, and pulled down thoſe which had been ſet up before; and therefore *Gregory* adviſes that Prelate, that he ſhould be careful to teach his People, *That Images are not to be worſhipped, only to be uſed as Books are, for Hiſtory and Inſtruction, but not to hinder them, if they deſire it, to ſet up Images in their Churches* (a).

(a) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 9. *Epiſt.* 9.

And the reaſon that *Gregory* gives, why *Serenus* ſhould permit Images to be ſet up in Churches, was, leaſt by refuſing it, *He ſhould give offence to Pagans and barbarous People, amongſt whom he lived, and prejudice their Minds againſt the Chriſtiun Religion* (b).

(b) Ibid.

Anno 792.

SECT. III. Nor am I ſingular in the 'foreſaid conjecture; for *Mezeray* (c) in the account he gives of the *French* Church in the ſeventh Age, when this Epiſtle of *Gregory* was written, ſaith, *That notwithſtanding all the care of the Prelates, who, by the Authority of their Kings, pulled down the Pagan Temples, there were yet a world of Pagans, eſpecially amongſt the* French, *and thoſe of the moſt principal: And for thoſe that were converted, they had much ado to wean them from their ancient Superſtition: They bore a reverence ſtill to the places where the* Gentiles *had worſhipped and adored; and ſtill retained ſome remainders of their Ceremonies, their Feſtivals, Augures, and the Witchcrafts of Paganiſm, which they mingled with the Exerciſes of the Chriſtian Religion.*

(c) Mezeray *Life of* Clotair II. *p.* 50.

And long after this time, in an Epiſtle of Pope *John* the Ninth, to the Archbiſhop of *Rhemes* (d), the Pope takes notice of the like practice amongſt the *Normans*, who had ſettled themſelves in that part of *France* which was under the care of that Archbiſhop, and had not long before the date of that Epiſtle been baptized; yet notwithſtanding that, they continued to live in the Pagan man-

(d) *Concil. Tom.* 9. Lab. *Col.* 483.

manner, offering Sacrifices to their Idols or Images, and partaking of the Gentile Sacrifices.

These Passages so fully explain *Gregory*'s Epistle to *Serenus*, that there seems no ground to doubt, that the use of Images was introduced into the Churches of the West, upon the Conversion of the Northern People; and that the Worship thereof had its beginning in the West, from their Superstition. But if there can be ground to doubt the original of this Usage, it is evident, past contradiction from the foresaid Epistle of *Gregory* to *Serenus*, that the Worship of Images was not allowed of by the Church of *Rome*, in the beginning of the seventh Century.

However, Images beginning about this time to be introduced, the Superstition which first brought them in, grew up so fast, that in the beginning of the eighth Century, a Worship began to be paid to them: And this became so visible, that the *Jews* and the *Saracens* charged the Eastern Christians with Idolatry in the Worship of Images (*a*). *Leo Isaurus* advanced to the Empire about the Year 717, was so sensibly touch'd with this Reproach, that by an Edict about the Year 726, he commanded that Images should be taken down, and removed out of Churches; and by another Edict made the refusal thereof Capital (*b*). And *Leo Isaurus* dying, his Son *Constantine Copronimus* pursued his Steps, and about the Year 754, called a Council, consisting of 338 Bishops, which met at *Constantinople*, and not only decreed against the Worship, but also against the use of Images (*c*) in Churches.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 723.

(*b*) Pii *Pontif. Epit. Decad.* Blond. *Lib* 10. *fol.* 23.

(*c*) *Concil. Tom.* 6. Lab. *Col.* 1661.

These Princes met with great opposition, and especially from the Bishops and People of *Italy*, and a mighty Schism was raised in the Church, and great Heats and Factions in the State; insomuch as the *Italians*, and in particular the Bishops and People of *Rome*, as before has been observed, withdrew their Obedience from the Emperor.

SECT. IV. However, these Princes bore down all opposition, and with violence pursued their design to banish Images out of Churches. In this manner things proceeded, till the Year 780; but *Leo* the Emperor dying that Year, the Empire fell into the hands of *Constantine* his Son, who had been proclaimed Emperor du-

Anno 792.

during the Life of his Father; but *Constantine* being yet a *Minor*, his Mother the Empress *Irene* possessed her self of the Administration of the Empire, and the conduct of the former Princes in the business of Images, having made mighty Heats, she resolved upon a different course, and probably hoped, by this means, to bring the *Italians*, whose defection had been chiefly occasioned by this Controversy, back again to their Duty, and quiet the ferment in the Empire.

And therefore, no sooner was she possest of the Administration, but she gave private notice to *Adrian*, Bishop of *Rome*, of her Resolution to restore the use of Images; and foreseeing she should meet with great opposition from *Paul*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, she forced him to retire from that Station into a Monastery, and put *Tarasius* in his room; whom, from a Lay-man, she advanced to that Patriarchate.

And the better to open the way to her design, by an Edict, liberty was granted to dispute for the lawfulness of worshipping Images (*a*), whereas *Baronius* observes, that before that Edict of *Irene* and *Constantine*, the People, Soldiers, and Senate so fiercely opposed that Doctrine, that no Man was allowed to dispute for the lawfulness of Image-Worship (*b*).

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. Anno* 784. *N.* 3.

(*b*) Ibid.

Anno 792. This Design was carried on in concert with *Adrian*, Bishop of *Rome*, and things, as they thought, being prepared for it, the Empress summoned a Council to meet at *Constantinople*, in the Year 786; but the Legates from *Rome* being arrived, and the Council assembled, *August* the first, the Bishops and Clergy who opposed the design, opposed also the meeting of the Council (*c*), and declared, that Matter had been finally determined, and ought not to be brought under debate again; and the Citizens and Military Men being generally of this Opinion, the Dispute rose to such a height, that a Tumult was raised in the City; and the Bishops assembled by the appointment of the Empress, were in great danger of being torn to pieces in the Insurrection (*d*). This broke up the Council, and put the Empress upon new Arts to bring about her Design, which she accomplish'd in a little time.

(*c*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 786. *N.* 2. 3. 4.

(*d*) Ibid. *Et* Eutropii *Rer. Roman. Lib.* 23. *fol.* 327.

Anno 792. SECT. V. For having punish'd some, and banish'd others, and by several ways contrived the dispersing and

and breaking that Party, which oppoſed both the Worſhip of Images, and the uſe of them in Churches, and eſpecially the Military Force which ſided with it (*a*), ſhe brought things to that paſs, that She, and the young Emperor, appointed a Council to meet at *Nice* in *Bithynia* the Year following, who accordingly met, and entered upon buſineſs in *September* 787

(*a*) Eutropii *Rerum Roman. Lib.* 23. *fol.* 327.

This Aſſembly conſiſted of 350 Biſhops, who in their ſixth and ſeventh Seſſions, not only condemned the Council of *Conſtantinople*, under the Emperor *Leo*, which had forbid the uſe of Images, (*b*) but in the fifth Seſſion, *They pronounced Anathema's againſt all the breakers of Images, againſt all that call Images by the Name of Idols, or apply the Texts of Scripture againſt Idols, to the Images in uſe amongſt Chriſtians; or refuſe to ſalute them: And determined, that the adoration of Honour ſhould be paid to them* (*c*).

(*b*) *Concil. Tom.* 7. Lab.

(*c*) *Concil. Tom.* 7. *Col.* 390. *Ed.* Lab.

And the better to illuſtrate the Doctrines they delivered, or as *Monſieur Labbe* exppreſſes it, (*d*) that the Fathers might the better reap the Fruits of their Labours, in the fifth Seſſion of this Council, they cauſed the Image of our Bleſſed Saviour to be brought into the Aſſembly, and they all fell down and worſhipped it, if we may rely on the Authority of this Learned Writer in this particular. The Conduct of theſe Prelates may poſſibly give us a juſt view of the Sentiments of this Council, and ſhew us upon what ground the ſecond Canon of the Council of *Francfort* repreſents the ſenſe of this Council, which was removed to, and ended at *Nice*, but was begun at *Conſtantinople*; and for this reaſon is called, in that Canon, the Council of *Conſtantinople*, in the point of Images, in a very different manner from what appears in the ordinary Copies thereof.

(*d*) *Concil. Tom.* 7. *Col.* 8.

For that Canon ſaith, *A Queſtion ariſing concerning the late Council of* Conſtantinople, *about the Worſhip of Images, in which Council it was decreed, that whoſoever did not give to the Images of the Saints Worſhip and Adoration, as they give to the Divine Trinity, ſhould be Anathema.* This, ſaith this Canon, is what *the Holy Fathers of the Council, who deny all ſuch Adoration, contemn, and have unanimouſly condemned.* And if this Do-

Allata eſt in medium quæſtio de nova Græcorum Synodo, quam de adorandis imaginibus Conſtantinopoli fecerunt; in qua ſcriptum habebatur, ut qui imaginibus ſanctorum *ita ut deificæ Trinitati ſervitium, aut adorationem non impenderent anathema judicarentur qui ſupra ſanctiſſimi patres* noſtri omnimodis adorationem & ſervitutem renuentes contempſerunt atque conſtituentes condemnaverunt. *Concil. Tom.* 7. *Col.* 1057. *Ed. Labb.*

 ctrine,

ctrine, charged on the Council of *Nice* by that of *Francfort*, was not truly the ſenſe of that Council, thus much is evident from an Epiſtle of Pope *Adrian* to *Conſtantine*, and his Mother *Irene*, inſerted in the ſecond Seſſion of that Council, that this Charge of the Council of *Francfort* is agreeable to the received Opinion the World then had of the Sentiments of thoſe who appeared in the defence of Images; for in that Epiſtle Pope *Adrian* acknowledges, that that Party was charged with deifying their Images before the meeting of the Council of *Nice*: And the little care that Aſſembly took to juſtify that Party from ſo reproachful a Reflection, adds new weight to the Authority of the Council of *Francfort*. (*a*)

(*a*) *Concil. Tom.* 7. *Col.* 106. *D. Lab.*

Anno 792.

SECT. VI. But though the ſenſe of the ſecond Council of *Nice* is thus repreſented by the Council of *Francfort*, and it be evident, that *Charles the Great*, who convened and was preſent at this Council, had a Copy of the Council of *Nice* ſent him by *Adrian*, Biſhop of *Rome*, immediately after the concluſion of it; and it is highly probable, that this Copy was that by which the Council of *Francfort* judged of the ſenſe of the Council of *Nice*; yet I muſt not omit to ſay, that this Charge does not appear ſo black in the Copies we have of the Council of *Nice*, in the Collections of *Binius*, or *Labbe*, or in the *Synodicon* publiſhed by the Learned and Judicious Dr. *Beveridge*; and that Pope *Adrian*, in his Epiſtle to *Charlemaign*, the Emperor *Conſtantine*, and the Empreſs *Irene*, and others, wrote upon the occaſion of this Controverſy, ſpeaks of the Worſhip of Images, in terms much ſofter than thoſe aſcribed to the Council of *Nice*: But after all, what is plain in the Council of *Nice*, is what no Art can colour or excuſe.

For it is demonſtrable, both from the Nature of Religious Worſhip, and the Rules which God has given for the Conduct of it, that the Saints, and much more their Images and Reliques, are incapable of being the object of Religious Worſhip: The reaſon is evident; for if Religious Worſhip, in proper ſpeaking, be nothing elſe but an expreſſion of the Idea the Mind conceives of the Excellency and Perfection of the Being adored; a Being that has no knowledge of the Idea the Mind conceives of it, is no more capable of being the object of Religious Worſhip, than a Deaf Man is ca-

capable of the pleaſure of Sounds, or a Blind Man of diſcerning Colours.

Nor is it any excuſe to ſay, that the Worſhip given immediately to the Image, does ultimately terminate upon God; for God has the ſame Right to determine of the Nature, Manner, and Circumſtances of Worſhip, and to declare what is, and what is not his Worſhip, as he has to preſcribe and limit the object of Worſhip; and if he has forbid us to Worſhip him by an Image, and declared ſuch Worſhip to be Idolatry, it is as evident, that the Intention of the Votary cannot alter the nature of ſuch a Worſhip, as it is evident, that God cannot be deceived nor miſtaken about the Nature and Circumſtances of the Worſhip he requires from us.

SECT. VII. And therefore, notwithſtanding all the Labour and Zeal of the Council of *Nice*, to dreſs out their Doctrine of Image-Worſhip, and the Skill and Arts of *Adrian*, Biſhop of *Rome*, to ſoften and refine it, it is certain, it met with mighty oppoſition through the whole Chriſtian Church; and more eſpecially in the *Weſt*: And the Churches of *England* had not the leaſt ſhare therein; for though *Baronius* thinks fit to ſay, that the Worſhip of Images was brought into *England* by *Auſtin* the Monk, and in confidence of the truth of that Aſſertion, has unravelled the Labours of the Monks of *Eveſham*, and ſpoiled the Viſions of *Egwin*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, yet our Hiſtorians, who ſhould underſtand this Matter better, give us a very different Account, and tell us, that the Emperor *Charles the Great*, having ſent to *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, a Copy of the Council of *Nice*, (*a*) *Offa* communicated the ſame to the *Engliſh* Biſhops, and that they were exceedingly offended at the proceeding of the Council of *Nice*, for what they had determined concerning the Worſhip of Images, declaring it to be contrary to the Faith, and a Doctrine to be abhorred by the Catholick Church. *Anno* 792.

(*a*) *Epiſt.* Carol. M. *Concil. Tom.* 7. *Col.* 1731. *Ed.* Labbe.

Nor did their reſentment ſtop here, but they procured *Alcuinus* to write againſt the Worſhip of Images, and owned the Work when it was finiſhed; and in their Names cauſed it to be ſent to *Charlemaign*.

Thus *M. Weſtminſter* relates this Matter in the Year ſeven hundred ninety three: "*Charles the Great*, King "of

" of *France*, ſent a Copy of the " Council of *Nice* to *Britain*, in " which many things were found " contrary to the true Catholick " Faith, but eſpecially that which " almoſt all the Eaſtern Biſhops u- " nanimouſly conſented to, *viz.* " *The Worſhip of Images, which the* " *Catholick Church utterly deteſted* " *and abhorred.* Againſt which *Al-* " *binus*, from the Authority of the " Holy Scriptures, wrote an excel- " lent Book, which, together with " the Copy of the foreſaid Council, " in the Names of the *Engliſh* Bi- " ſhops and Princes, the ſame Learned *Albinus* preſented " to *Charles* the *French* King.

Anno 793. Carolus Rex Francorum miſit librum Synodalem ad Brittaniam, in quo veræ fidei multa reperta ſunt obviantia, & eo maxime quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum unanimi aſſertione eſt definitum imagines adorari debere quod omnino Eccleſia Catholica execratur. *Contra quod Albinus ſcripſit Epiſtolam, ex autoritate divinarum ſcripturarum mirabiliter dictatam, illamque cum eodem Synodali libro, in perſona Epiſcoporum, at principum idem Albinus ad regem attulit Gallicanum.*

M. Weſtmonaſt. *Anno* 793.

Hovedeni Annal. par. priore fol. 232. *n.* 50. *Carolus Rex Francorum ſcripſit Synodalem librum ad Brittanniam ſibi à Conſtantinopoli directum, in quo libro (heu pro dolor) multa inconvenientia, & veræ fidei contraria reperiebantur, maximè quod pene omnium Orientalium Doctorum, non minus quam trecentorum, vel eo amplius Epiſcoporum unanimi aſſertione confirmatum fuerit imagines adorari debere, quod omnino Eccleſia Dei execratur.*

The Accounts of *Hoveden* and *Dunelmenſis* (*a*) are much to the ſame purpoſe, diſtinguiſhed only by the Air of Sorrow and Regret, with which they expreſs the ſenſe they had of the unhappy Miſcarriage of that Council.

(*a*) Dunelm. *Decem. Script. Col.* III.

And it is not without ground that it is thought, that the Zeal of the *Engliſh* Church, aſſiſted by the Labours of *Alcuinus*, were greatly inſtrumental in confirming *Charles the Great*, and the *French* and *German* Biſhops in the ſame Orthodox Judgment; and that it gave occaſion to the calling of the Council of *Francfort*, by which the Doctrine of Image-Worſhip, eſtabliſhed by the Council of *Nice*, was condemned.

Anno 792.

SECT. VIII. This Work of *Alcuinus* has had the misfortune to be loſt, or at leaſt not to be publiſhed, amongſt the other Writings of that Learned Author; and this has given occaſion to ſome, who do not like the Subject of it, to queſtion whether it ever had a Being; and the Council of *Francfort* has had the ſame Fate, and probably for the ſame reaſon too: Yet, after all, *Baronius*, (*b*) who never wants precaution, when the Honour of the Church of *Rome* requires it, owns the truth of that Council, and *Monſieur Labbe* has publiſhed the Canons of it (*c*). *Mezeray*, in the Life of *Charlemaign*, carries this Matter yet further, and ſaith, that the Council of *Francfort* conſiſted of the Biſhops of *Germany* and *France*, and of the greateſt part of *Italy*; and that it was ſo

(*b*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 794. *N.* 40.

(*c*) *Concil. Tom.* 7. *Col.* 1057.

ſo conſiderable, that it might be called the *Weſtern Council* (*a*); but *Monſieur du Pin* ſaith, it was eſteemed in *France* a *General Council*, and conſiſted of three hundred Biſhops (*b*).

(*a*) Mezeray Charlemaig. pag. 114.

(*b*) *Eccl. Hiſt. Cent.* 8. *pag.* 15.

And one who conſiders the Writers, to whom we owe the Account of this Work of *Alcuinus*, the Ages they lived in, and the Doctrines which then prevailed, will ſee as little reaſon to doubt of the Zeal of the *Engliſh* Church, in oppoſing the Worſhip of Images, as *Baronius* did to doubt of the Council of *Francfort*; and the truth is, theſe particulars ſeem incapable of ſeparation, for next to a Council of their own, the Council of *Francfort* ſeems to be the beſt evidence of the preſent ſenſe of the *Engliſh* Church.

Nor will this appear ſtrange, when it is conſidered, that the *Germans* owe their Converſion to the *Engliſh* Nation; and that *Boniface*, an *Engliſh man* by Birth, and the firſt Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and by whoſe Zeal and Conduct the *German* Church was firſt ſettled, was martyred but about forty Years before that Council; and that ſome *Engliſh* Biſhops are thought to have been preſent at this Council (*c*): But by the Epiſtle of *Charles* to *Elipandus*, Biſhop of *Toledo* in *Spain*, its paſt all doubt, that ſome of the *Engliſh* Clergy were preſent therein; amongſt whom was *Alcuinus*, who had been bred under *Egbert*, Archbiſhop of *York*, but was never Archbiſhop of *York* or *Tours*, as the *Utrecht* Hiſtorian pretends, (*d*) but was, about this time, Abbot of Saint *Martin*'s in *Tours*, and the great Miniſter in all the Affairs of the Church under *Charles the Great*, by whom the Council of *Francfort* was convened.

(*c*) Spanhem. *Introd. ad Hiſt. Tom.* 2. *p.* 745.

(*d*) Hedæ. *Hiſt. Ultraject. pag.* 38.

And it is not unlikely, that the Canons of that Council were drawn up by the hands of *Alcuinus*; but this is certain, that he was imployed by this Council to juſtify the Sentence which in the firſt Canon of this Council was pronounced againſt the Hereſy of *Fælix*, Biſhop of *Urgill* in *Spain*, who aſſerted *CHRIST* to be only the adopted Son of *GOD*,; and it is not unlikely, that he had the penning of that Epiſtle upon this Subject, ſent by the Council of *Francfort*, and *Charles the Great* to the Biſhops of *Spain* (*e*). If we add to this, the Account of *Uſpergenſis* (*f*), that the Authority of the ſecond Council of *Nice* was univerſally rejected, there will ap-

(*e*) *Concil. Tom.* 7. *Col.* 1032 & 1048.

(*f*) Urſperg. *Chron. An.* 793. *pag.* 176.

appear ground enough, notwithſtanding all the Artifices that have been made uſe of to deny the being, or pervert the ſenſe of the Council of *Francfort*, not only to conclude with *Mezeray* (*a*), that the Fathers in that Weſtern Council diſdained to acknowledge the Authority of the Council of *Nice*, and rejected the Adoration of Images in all reſpects and manners, and that *Charlemaign* wrote a Book to oppoſe it; but alſo, that the Worſhip of Images was at this time rejected by the *French*, *German*, and *Engliſh* Churches; and leave the Authority of *Hoveden*, *Dunelmenſis*, *M. Weſtminſter*, unqueſtioned, in the Account they give us of the oppoſition made by the *Engliſh* Church to the Worſhip of Images.

(*a*) Mezeray *Life* Charlem. *pap.* 114.

And what is ſaid of *Claudius*, a *Spaniard* by Birth, Biſhop of *Turin*, who lived in the Court of the Emperor *Ludovicus Pius*, immediate Succeſſor to *Charlemaign*, a Prelate in great Reputation for his Learning, and who not only wrote againſt the Worſhip of Images, (*b*) but, as *Mariana* ſays of him, affirmed, that they ought to be caſt out of Churches, (*c*) is enough to ſhew, that the *French* did not quickly give up their averſion to the Doctrine of Image-Worſhip.

(*b*) Mariana *Hiſt.* Spain. *Lib.* 7. *cap.* 5.

(*c*) Ibid.

Anno 793. SECT. IX. The Doctrine of Reliques, publiſhed by the ſecond Council of *Nice*, ſeems no leſs ſurpriſing and unaccountable, than that of Image-Worſhip; for in the fourth Canon it is not only required, that ſuch Churches as had been Conſecrated without Reliques, ſhould, with the ſolemnity of Publick Prayers, have Reliques introduced, and depoſited therein; but it is alſo decreed, that ſuch Biſhops ſhould be depoſed, as in time coming preſumed to conſecrate new Churches without Reliques, (*d*) a Doctrine that in time let a thouſand Superſtitions into the Church, and opened the way to infinite Frauds and Impoſtures; and ſuch as the Bleſſed Saints themſelves, if they have any knowledge of the ſtate of things below, could not but look upon with the utmoſt deteſtation and abhorrence.

(*d*) *Concil. Tom.* 7. Lab. *Col.* 603.

But though this of *Nice* be the firſt Canon of this kind, yet it ſeems probable, the ſuperſtitious Opinions of Reliques had, for ſome time before been growing up in the Church, for ſomewhat above an Age before the 'foreſaid Council of *Nice*. The ſixth Canon of the Council of *Braccar* in *Spain*, held about the Year 675, takes

takes notice of, and forbids a very odd and unaccountable Honour which ſome *Spaniſh* Biſhops paid to the Reliques of Saints, who, in their Proceſſions, cauſed the Reliques to be hung about their own Necks, and being thus adorned, cauſed themſelves to be carried in Chairs, by their Deacons in their Surplices, (*a*) and before that, in the beginning of the ſame Century, we find *Gregory the Great* appointing the depoſiting of Reliques in Churches (*b*); but the neceſſity thereof, to give validity to the Conſecration of Churches, and the Penalty for the neglect thereof, are wholly owing to the Council of *Nice*. And the Practices which hence inſued, were ſuch as the Reaſons on which the Conſtitutions of that Council were founded did naturally lead Men into.

(*a*) *Concil. Tom.* 6. *Col.* 565.

(*b*) Greg. *Ep. Lib.* 9. *Ep.* 71.

For the Doctrine of Reliques having now ſomething that looked like the Authority of the Church impreſſed upon it, ſearching for the Remains of ſuch as had ſuffered Martyrdom, or were upon other Accounts eſteem'd Saints, begun about this time to be a very faſhionable and prevailing piece of Devotion.

And the Monks, who were ever very forward in all the Grimaces and appearances of Holineſs, which were likely to charm the common People, and acquire to themſelves Wealth, or the reputation of Holineſs, run ſo readily into this kind of Devotion, that *Charles the Great* takes notice of their running up and down with the Bones, and other Reliques of the Saints; and under the umbrage of this kind of Zeal, uſing all indirect means to gain Wealth to themſelves (*c*); and in the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh Capitularies gives particular Directions to his Biſhops to ſuppreſs thoſe their wicked Practiſes (*d*).

(*c*) *Capit.* Carol. M. *Concil. Tom.* 7. *Col.* 1186.

(*d*) Ibid.

However, this kind of Devotion grew up apace, and Hiſtory is every where full of the wonderful Diſcoveries of the Bodies of Saints, from this time downward; and for the moſt part, the honour of thoſe Diſcoveries fell upon the Monks; and the Churches of *England* had too great a ſhare in this practice.

SECT. X. For about this time King *Offa* pretending that, by a Viſion, the place where the Body of Saint *Alban* lay, was diſcovered to him (*e*), to give the better reputation to his Dream, cauſed the Archbiſhop of *Lichfield*, *Humbert*, together with two of his Suffragans, *Ceolwulf*

Anno 793.

(*e*) *Vit.* Offæ. M. Paris, *pag.* 26.

Ceolwulf Biſhop of *Lindeſey*, and *Unwona* Biſhop of *Leiceſter*, to meet him at St. *Alban*'s, in order to ſearch for the Reliques of that Saint (*a*). Superſtition and Curioſity drew together great Crowds to attend this Solemnity, where, after all the Ceremony and Devotions the occaſion deſerved, the Reliques of that Holy Man were, according to the Viſion, ſaid to be found the firſt of *Auguſt*, in the ſix and thirtieth of that King's Reign: And, if there be any credit to be given to this Account, after the Bones of that Holy Man had reſted 507 Years (*b*) in his Grave, they were taken up; and that they might be depoſited again with greater Honour, a Shrine was prepared with all the advantages that Wealth and Art could give it, made of Gold, and beſet with Pearl, and therein the Remains of the Martyr were depoſited; great Devotions paid to the Reliques, and, as it is pretended, many Miracles wrought by them.

(*a*) Ibid.

(*b*) Ibid.

And to perpetuate the Memory hereof, that Prince, by the Advice of his Council, begun the Monaſtery of St. *Alban*'s, to the Memory of that Saint; and having endowed it with great Wealth, and granted great Immunities to it: To conſummate the Honour he intended to his new Foundation, he went away to *Rome*, and from Pope *Adrian* obtained the confirmation of the Privileges he had granted; and in particular, of his exemption of his Monaſtery from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of the Dioceſs.

And to add ſtill greater luſter to their Founder, or his new Foundation, the ſame Writer tells us, whilſt *Offa* continued at *Rome*, that he took occaſion to viſit the School which had been erected there for the Education of the *Engliſh*: And, for the better ſupport thereof, granted a yearly Charity of a Peny from every Houſe in the Kingdom of *Mercia* (*c*), which, in memory of the 'foreſaid Diſcovery, he appointed to be paid on the firſt of *Auguſt*; and this being the Day called St. *Peters ad vincula*, it was from hence that payment in time acquir'd the Name of *Peter-Pence*.

(*c*) *Vit* Offin. M. Paris. *pag.* 27.

In this Donation, *Offa* is ſaid to imitate the Charity of *Ina*, a King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, (*d*) but the time both of the one and the other, are reported ſo different by our Hiſtorians, and the Accounts thereof ſo uncertain and confuſed, that *Baronius* (*e*) is forced to fetch his Account

(*d*) Pol. Virg. *Anglor. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *pag* 89.

(*e*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 740. *N.* 18.

N. 40.

Account of this Affair, from *Polidore Virgil*; who was indeed a Collector of this Charity, but lived not till above ſeven hundred Years after the pretended grant of it.

But though there is not ground enough to aſcertain the time when theſe Donations were firſt made, there is no doubt but a Charity was granted by the *Engliſh* Princes, which in time extended to the *Engliſh* Nation; and the reaſon of this Charity ceaſing, by thoſe noble and munificent Proviſions for Learning, which for ſome Ages have been the peculiar Glory of *England*, the Biſhops of *Rome* took this Charity to themſelves; and hence, according to the way of ſpeaking, which *Hildebrand* firſt taught the Flatterers of the *Roman* Greatneſs, this Charity came in time to be called a Tribute. Upon this ground *Polidore* aſſerts *England* a Fee of the Papacy: But if *Ina* and *Offa* had given their whole Dominions to the See of *Rome*, thoſe Gifts would not have extended to half the Kingdom of *England*.

SECT. XI. And yet *Polidore* is followed in this fond Opinion by *Baronius* (*a*); and *Dachary* in his Notes on an Epiſtle of King *William* the Firſt, ſeems to make no doubt, that the intention of the 'foreſaid Kings in granting this Charity, was no other, than to render their Kingdoms a Fee of the Papacy, and wonders, that that Prince ſhould refuſe to promiſe Fidelity to the Biſhops of *Rome*: (*b*) nor are theſe Learned Men ſingular, but are followed by many others of the ſame Communion: But after all the pains they have beſtowed upon this ſubject, and the mighty Inferences they have drawn from it, it ſeems highly probable, that though there was a grant of a Penſion from the Crown, there never was any ſuch grant as that of a Peny a Houſe, or any other Charge on the Subjects of *England*, made either by *Offa* or *Ina*, or any other *Engliſh* Prince, before the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, about whoſe Time this manner of paying it was firſt ſettled, if I am not miſtaken. *Anno* 794.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 740. N. 18.

(*b*) Lanfranc. *Opera. p.* 347.

Thus much is evident, that if there was any ſuch Charge, *Leo* the Third, the immediate Succeſſor of *Adrian*, to whom this Grant is ſaid to be made, was utterly unacquainted with it; for in his Epiſtle to *Kenulphus*, King of *Mercia*, wrote about three or four Years after the Death of *Offa*, *Leo* gives a very different Ac-

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(*b*) Lanfranc. *Opera. p.* 347.

Thus much is evident, that if there was any ſuch Charge, *Leo* the Third, the immediate Succeſſor of *Adrian*, to whom this Grant is ſaid to be made, was utterly unacquainted with it; for in his Epiſtle to *Kenulphus*, King of *Mercia*, wrote about three or four Years after the Death of *Offa*, *Leo* gives a very different Ac-

count of the Charity of that Prince, and ſaith, that King *Offa* made a Vow at the Synod, wherein the Legates of Pope *Adrian*, *Gregory*, and *Theophilact* were preſent, *viz.* that of *Calcuith*, that he would ſend every Year to *Rome* a Mancuſe of Silver for every Day in the Year, in all, three hundred ſixty five Mancuſes for the ſupport of the Poor, and the continuance of Lights in commemoration of the Victories he obtained; and that he intended the like Charity ſhould be continued by his Succeſſors in that Kingdom.

Veſtram autem ſcientes fructificatam in omnibus bonis præcelſa ſcientia ad memoriam deducimus, qualiter ſanctæ recordationis quod Offa Rex pro victoris regni quam B. Petro auctori ſuo, & ------ votum vovit eidem Dei Apoſtolo B. Petro clavigero Regni cælorum, ut per unumquemque annum ſcilicet quantos dies annus habuerit, tantos Mancuſos eidem Dei Apoſtolo Eccleſiæ nimirum trecenti, ſexaginta, & quinque pro alimonia Pauperum, & luminariorum continuatione mittere quod & fecit. Epiſt. Leonis. Papæ Ang. Sacr. Parte 1. p. 460.

In this which is the earlieſt and beſt Account we have of this Affair, there is not one word of a Charge on his Subjects. And the Account of *Aſſerius* is much to the ſame effect; for ſpeaking of this Charity, about fifty Years after this, he ſaith, it was three hundred Mancuſes, and deſcribes the diſpoſal thereof as *Leo* does, (*a*) but ſaith not one word of a fixed or certain Charge upon any Houſe; yet it appears by the Account of *Malmsbury*, (*b*) that this was the ſame Charity which that Hiſtorian calls a Tribute; and the ſame that came in time to be known by the Name of *Peter-Pence*.

(*a*) Aſſerii *Annal.* XV. *Script.* p. 158.

(*b*) W. Malmſ. *de Geſt. Reg. Ang. Lib.* 2.

But whatever is ſaid of a Peny a Houſe, by way of Tribute, in a Law of *Edward the Confeſſor*, (*c*) it appears, that when this payment, which in the beginning ſeems to have been nothing elſe but a Penſion from the Crown, came in time to be fixed upon the Subject, it did not extend to a Charge upon every Houſe, but was a Charge only upon the Proprietors of Houſes, and this too for the Houſes ſuch Proprietors did inhabit, but not extended to the Houſes inhabited by their Tenants or Vaſſals. And we have the Authority of the ſame Law to call this Yearly Gift the Alms of the King (*d*). How or when the 'foreſaid Uſage and way of ſpeaking came to be changed, it is not eaſy to determine; but one who well conſiders the Account that *Baronius* gives of the attempt of Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, to ſettle the like payment of a Peny a Houſe in the Kingdom of *France*, to anſwer a Charity pretended to be given about this time by *Charles the Great*, (*e*) and that but a few Years before the like attempt was made in *Poland*, and was ſubmitted to

(*c*) *Leges Edovardi Lambard. de Legi pag.* 140.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 804. *N.* 16.

to by the *Poles*, but with great uneaſineſs and reluctancy (*a*), will ſee great reaſon to believe, that the like uſage in *England* had the like beginning, and that long after the firſt grant of this Charity. But whenever the change was introduced, it is very evident, that the Arts of the *Romiſh* Agents did in time extend this Charity much beyond the original Grant, and the intention of thoſe who were the firſt givers of it; and this is ſo plain, that in the Parliament held at *Carliſle*, in the Year 1306, the thirty fifth of *Edward* the Firſt, the Parliament takes notice of, and complains of the change made in that payment, as one of the Grievances of the *Engliſh* Nation. Was there no other, this is evidence enough, that that payment was altered from the original Grant.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 1045. *N.* 2.

And how greedily ſoever ſome Men run away with the contrary Opinion, and thence conclude *England* to be a Fee of the Papacy: That pretence has ſuch viſible Marks of Falſhood and Vanity, that to every one who knows any thing of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, to mention is enough to ſilence and confute it; and yet the Charity and Alms of this kind, given by Princes to the Biſhops of *Rome*, is, it may be, the beſt Plea thoſe Prelates have for the diſpoſal of their Kingdoms; but how trifling and extravagant ſoever ſuch a Claim may be eſteemed in *England*, it makes ſuch a Figure abroad, that the very Learned and Judicious *Monſieur du Pin*, is at ſome pains to confute it (*b*), and to prove, that the Biſhops of *Rome* did not acquire a Right to diſpoſe the Kingdom of *England* from the foreſaid Charities.

(*b*) Du Pin's *Diſſert. de Diſciplin. Antiq. Diſſert.* 7. *pag.* 566.

SECT. XII. *Offa* had ſome very valuable Accompliſhments; and theſe ſo becoming the Dignity and Truſt he ſupported, that *Alcuinus* ſtiles him the Honour of *Britain*, (*c*) and tells him, that he exceedingly rejoiced to obſerve the Noble Paſſion with which he promoted the Intereſts of Learning within his Kingdom, which was extinguiſhed in many other places (*d*); but yet the Accompliſhments of that Prince were ſo alloyed by his Vices, eſpecially thoſe of Ambition and Luſt, that *Malmsbury*, and other Monaſtick Writers, who uſually make their Founders Saints, but never fail to make great Allowances for their Faults, ſay of this Prince, that he had ſuch an equal mixture of Virtue and Vice, that they knew not where to place him, whether amongſt the good or bad Princes. Be-

Anno 794.

(*c*) Alcuini *ad* Offin. *Reg. Epiſt.* 38.

(*d*) Ibid.

Beſides, as by violent courſes he had divided the Province of *Canterbury*, and forced his Clergy to ſubmit, and this made a heat and ferment within his Kingdom; ſo the Force and Fraud he had made uſe of to enlarge his Dominions had certainly made him Enemies without: And the conſideration of his Circumſtances, added to this Character, it is not to be wondered if he applied himſelf to the moſt likely Methods to cover his Intereſts, by running into the popular and prevailing Superſtition of the Age; and this affords ground to believe, that he was the Founder of the Monaſtery erected to the Memory of St. *Alban*, that he was a liberal Benefactor to the Biſhops of *Rome*, and that out of the Charity he had before devoted to *Rome*, he had added to the endowment of *Engliſh* Schools; and that this was the chief ground of the Compliment paid to him by *Alcuinus*; and this gives probability to what is ſaid of his pretence to the diſcovery of the Bones of St. *Alban* by a Viſion; and what is truth in the Story of this Prince is enough to give an Idea of the extravagant Honours which began about this time to be paid to Reliques: And this is the end for which I have laid part of the Hiſtory of this Prince before the Reader.

Anno 794. SECT. XIII. But that I may not miſlead him, whilſt I endeavour to ſet him right, I muſt not omit to mind him, that a great part of the 'foreſaid Story ſeems to be nothing elſe but fiction; and, if one may be allowed to judge, was forged in the Twelfth Century, to ſerve the deſigns of the Monks of St. *Alban*, when they ſet up their pretence to an Exemption from the Authority of their Biſhop. Nor is this a conjecture grounded only on the known Forgeries of this kind, charged on the Monaſticks; for it ſeems very probable, that *Humbert*, Biſhop of *Lichfield*, never aſſumed the Title of Archbiſhop, that he died ſeveral Years before this pretended Council of *Verulam*; and whereas it is ſaid, that the Exemption of the Monaſtery of St. *Alban*, from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops of the Dioceſs, was granted in regard to St. *Alban* the firſt Martyr of the *Engliſh*:

It is very evident, that St. *Alban* was not an *Engliſhman* but a *Briton*, and ſuffered Martyrdom above two hundred Years before the *Engliſh* came into *Britain*; and by

by the long Controverſy betwixt the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, and the Monaſtery of St. *Alban*, about the middle of the Twelfth Century, it appears that thoſe Prelates were in poſſeſſion of their Juriſdiction over that Monaſtery, till *Adrian* the Fourth granted it an exemption about the Year 1156; and even their pretence to the Reliques of St. *Alban* has been the ſubject of Controverſy; for notwithſtanding all the 'foreſaid Circumſtances, and a Volume contrived about the Year 1170, ſetting forth the Miracles wrought by the Reliques of that Holy Martyr, in the Abby of St. *Alban*'s, yet not only the Monaſtery of *Ely*, but the City of *Cologn* in *Germany*, and a People in *Denmark* pretended alſo to be Maſters of that Holy Treaſure (*a*); and indeed this is the common Misfortune of Treaſures of that kind.

(*a*) Uſſerii *Antiq. Eccleſ. Britan. pag.* 330. 332.

But, after all, there ſeems no reaſon to doubt, but that the Remains of a dead Body were taken up about this time, pretended to be thoſe of St. *Alban*, and great Devotions paid to it. And it ſeems probable, that theſe diligent ſearches after the Bodies of Saints, were not the only effect of that Veneration which begun about this time to be paid to their Reliques; but it is very likely, that the Doctrine of Reliques gave occaſion to change the ancient Cuſtom of the *Engliſh* Church, which never ſuffered the Bodies of Chriſtians to be buried in Churches; for this Uſage was changed, and the burial in Churches introduced the latter end of this Age; and this change probably encreaſed the Superſtition that firſt introduced it. And, in truth, there was now no more room for the modeſty of the firſt Ages; it was in vain to talk of leſſening the Veneration and Sacredneſs of Holy Places, by making them the Repoſitories of the Bodies of Holy Men, when Churches themſelves were to receive their Conſecration from their Reliques; for certainly the Pavement cannot be defiled by the Treaſure which conſecrates the Altar.

On the other hand, this practice of burying in Churches, which began about this time in *England*, leads us to the Antiquity of the Doctrine which introduced it; for there had been no need of Viſions and Miracles to diſcover the Bodies of Saints buried ſome Ages before, if the Doctrine of Reliques which the ſecond Council of *Nice* delivered to this Age, had been the ancient Doctrine

of the Church: If this had been the caſe of Chriſtendom, the Piety of former Ages would doubtleſs have prevented the Zeal and Labours of the preſent Age, by taking ſuch care in depoſiting the Bodies of the Martyrs, Confeſſors, and Holy Men, that their Sepulchers might have been known without Revelation. And when 'tis conſidered, how many well-meaning People were deceived by falſe Reliques, and how many Cheats and Impoſtures were put upon the World, for want of a certain way to diſtinguiſh true from falſe Reliques, the Careleſneſs and Inadvertency of the firſt Ages is never to be excuſed, but on a ſuppoſition and belief, that they were not acquainted with the Doctrine of Reliques, broached by the preſent Age. But to return,

How far this Superſtition extended to the Souls of Men departed, an Epiſtle of *Charles the Great* to *Offa* (*a*), on the occaſion of Pope *Adrian*'s Death, and wrote about this time, will make it neceſſary to inquire.

(*a*) Malmsb. *de Geſt. Reg. Ang. Lib.* 1. *fol.* 17.

CHAP. XIV.

Ab Anno 795 ad Annum 800.

SECT. I. *SEnſe of the* Engliſh *Church of the ſtate of departed Souls: Their Devotions for the Dead.*

II. *Practice of the* Engliſh *at this time much the ſame as that of the Ancients: Grounds thereof directly oppoſite to the Doctrine of Purgatory, and praying to Saints.*

III. *Death of* Offa: *Province of* Canterbury *reunited:* Lichfield *ceaſes to be an Archbiſhop's See: The reaſon thereof: Difference amongſt Hiſtorians about the time and circumſtances of that Change.*

IV. Engliſh *Biſhops complain of impoſing the neceſſity of a Pall, as a burthen and uſurpation on their Liberties: The occaſion thereof: Shew and aſſert their ancient Rights.*

V. Engliſh *Biſhops aſſert their Right to Conſecrate their own Metropolitans.*

VI. *Di-*

VI. *Diviſion and reunion of the Province of* Canterbury : *Acts of Civil Power.*
VII. *The Eighth Century concludes with the diviſion of the Empire.*

SECT. I. THE Ignorance and Superſtition of the Age would lead one to think, that thoſe who paid ſuch mighty Honours to Bones and Duſt, would run into a greater exceſs of Honour to departed Souls ; yet, for ought appears to the contrary, their Sentiments and Practices at this time, were no other than what were agreeable to the ancient Church in the preceding Age. *Bede* makes mention of the Prayers and Pſalms, and other Devotions of the Siſters of the Abby of *Streanſhal*, on the Death of their Abbeſs *Hilda* ; but at the ſame time he ſpeaks of her, as a Woman of wonderful Sanctity, and of the reception of her Soul into the ſtate of immediate Happineſs (*a*): The like appears on the Death of that Hiſtorian himſelf (*b*).

(*a*) Bed *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 23.
(*b*) Aſſerii *Annal.* XV. *Scripter. pag.* 152.

And the Epiſtle of *Charles the Great* to *Offa*, upon the occaſion of the Death of Pope *Adrian*, ſhews, that the practice of the *Engliſh* Church was ſtill the ſame, and upon the ſame foot ; for, on the Death of that Prelate, *Charles* tells that Prince, that to give teſtimony of his Friendſhip and Love to *Adrian* Biſhop of *Rome*, he had ſent as a Charity to every Cathedral Church in his Kingdom of *Mercia*, and in that of *Ethelred*, who was at this time King of *Northumberland*, and this was a Surplice or Surcoat, deſiring that he would require that Prayers ſhould be made for him, though he did not doubt but that his Soul was at reſt.

Cognoſcat quoque dilectio veſtra, quod aliquam benignitatem, de Dalmaticis noſtris, vel palliis, ad ſingulas ſedes Epiſcopales regni veſtri, vel Ethelredi direximus in eleemoſynam Domini Apoſtolici Adriani deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jubeatis nullam habentes dubitationem, beatam illius animam in requie eſſe, ſed ut fidem, & dilectionem oſtendamus in amicum noſtrum chariſſimum. Malmsbury de Geſt. Reg. Ang. Lib. 1. fol.

And the Council of *Calcuith*, *Anno* 816, (*c*) directing the Obſequies of Biſhops, requires, that upon the Death of a Biſhop, for the benefit of his Soul, a tenth part of his Goods ſhould be given to the Poor ; and that upon the notice of his Death, in every Pariſh, the Congregation ſhould reſort to the Church, and ſing thirty Pſalms for his Soul ; and that every Biſhop and Abbot ſhould ſing ſix hundred Pſalms, and one hundred and twenty Maſſes,

(*c*) *Concil. Brit. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 330.

Maſſes, Manumiſe three Slaves, give three Shillings in Alms, and faſt thirty Days.

Anno 795. SECT. II. Somewhat anſwerable to this Practice, the Liturgy aſcribed to St. *James*, requires the Prieſt to pray, that God would remember the Souls of all Holy Men, from Righteous *Abel*; but it was that they might reſt in his Kingdom, and in the Delights of Paradiſe: and St. *Chryſoſtom* and *Cyril* ſpeak of Oblations for the Souls of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs; and St. *Cyprian* ſpeaks of the omiſſion hereof, as a Puniſhment to one who diſobeys the Canon (*a*); and accordingly, in the Liturgy of St. *Gregory*, and in the Account that *Alcuinus*, who lived at this time, gives of the Offices for the Dead, all the Offices are confined to the Souls of ſuch as departed in the Faith, and reſt in Peace; and it is upon this ground, that *Charles the Great* deſires the Prayers of the *Engliſh* Churches for the Soul of Pope *Adrian*.

(*a*) Cyprian *Epiſt.* 66. *pag.* 158. *Ed.* Pamel.

But whilſt the Ancients thus explained their belief of the Exiſtence and Happineſs of departed Souls, and of their Unity and Communion with the Saints, whilſt they thus did Honour to the Memories, and glorified God for the Examples of Good Men on Earth, and the Rewards he had laid up for them in Heaven, they have left us no Marks of Purgatory, but founded their Devotions on grounds ſo contrary, that one would wonder how theſe Practices came in time to give beginning to it.

And yet it is very probable it was theſe Practices that afterwards opened a way to that Doctrine, and the Corruptions and Abuſes founded upon it: But whilſt the *Engliſh* Church thus far followed the Ancients in the mighty Honours they paid to Good Men departed this Life, and gave their Alms, and offered their Prayers to God, that he would accelerate the conſummation of their Happineſs, and accompliſh the number of his Elect, we hear nothing yet of praying the Souls of bad Men out of Torments, or bringing Souls from a ſtate of Miſery to Happineſs, by any Charities or Devotions of the Living; but, on the contrary, the Inſtances of *Hilda* and *Bede*, the Epiſtle of *Charles the Great*, and the foreſaid Canon of *Celichyth*, ſhew plainly, that the Perſons moſt renowned for Sanctity, had the greateſt ſhare

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in the Offices performed at this time, by the *Engliſh* Church, for departed Souls.

And was there no other Argument againſt the Invocation of Saints, praying for them, and praying to them, are Practices founded upon ſuch oppoſite Reaſons, that this Practice alone in praying for them, is enough to ſhew, they did not pray to them; and though there are ſome dark Sayings in the Writers of this and the preceeding Age, that in after Times were made uſe of to colour the Doctrine of Purgatory; yet it is very evident, that in the Canons of *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, it is not only forbid, in the ſixty third Canon, to ſay Maſs for the Souls of ſuch Men as laid violent hands on themſelves (*a*), but in the fifty ſixth Canon it is declared Blaſphemy to ſay Maſs for a wicked Man (*b*), Doctrines that ſeem no way to agree with that of Purgatory.

(*a*) *Concil. Tom. 6. Col.* 1877.
(*b*) Ibid.

SECT. III. Whilſt the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Churches continued in this poſture, *Offa* King of the *Mercians* died, and with him determined the great Deſigns he had formed; for though a change did not immediately inſue, yet in few Years his Succeſſors became Tributaries to the *Weſt-Saxons*; and the Archbiſhoprick he had erected at *Lichfield* returned to *Canterbury* again. The *Saxon-Chronicle* (*c*), and the Learned Publiſher of the *Anglia Sacra* (*d*), fix the Death of *Offa*, and conſequently the firſt Movements to the Changes which inſued, in the Year 794; but *Baronius* places the coming of that Prince to *Rome* the Year following (*e*); and which is more, it appears by the Letter of *Charles the Great* to *Offa*, that he ſurvived the Death of Pope *Adrian*, (*f*) and *Adrian* did not die till the Year 795, for which reaſons I have followed *Aſſerius*, (*g*) and placed the Death of this Prince in this Year.

Anno 796.

(*c*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 794.
(*d*) *Anglia Sacra. Pars* 1. *p.* 430.
(*e*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 795. *N.* 52.
(*f*) Malmsb. *de Geſt. Reg. Ang. Lib.* 1. *fol.* 17.
(*g*) Aſſerii *Annal.* XV. *Script. p.* 154.

He was ſucceeded by *Egefride*, but he dying within the Year, *Kenulph* ſucceeded in that Kingdom. *Athelard* was at this time Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the room of *Lambertus* deceaſed, who being a wiſe and active Prelate, was generally favoured in the pretence he ſet on foot to have the Kingdom of *Mercia* reſtored to the Province of *Canterbury*; and though *Adulphus*, Archbiſhop of *Lichfield* was living, yet *Kenulph*, King of the *Mercians*, was prevailed upon to yield to the Change;

but I cannot aſcribe the Succeſs of the Archbiſhop, as our Hiſtorians generally do, wholly to the Zeal and Capacity of that Prelate, though no doubt they had a part in it.

For about this time *Kenulphus* had conquered the Kingdom of *Kent*, took *Eadbert* or *Ethelbert*, ſurnamed *Præn*, the King thereof, Priſoner (*a*), and placed *Cuthred*, a Tributary Prince in his room (*b*); and the ſecurity of this his new Conqueſt, made it ſo neceſſary to keep the Archbiſhop and People ſteady in his Intereſt, by reſtoring the See of *Canterbury* to its ancient Honour, that one cannot forbear thinking, that *Kenulphus* acted chiefly by conſiderations of this kind.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 796.

(*b*) Malmsb. *de Geſt. Reg. Ang. Lib.* 1. *cap* 5.

Annis 798. *& 799.* SECT. IV. Whilſt things were thus carried on in *England*, the deſigns of *Charlemaign* obliged him to make mighty court to the Biſhops of *Rome*; and the Favours he ſhewed to thoſe Prelates gave ſuch encouragement to the Sentiments firſt publiſhed under his Father *Pipin*, by *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz* (*c*), that the Metropolitans ought to fetch or ſend for their Palls from *Rome*, that about this time it began to be pretended, that this obligation extended to *England*; which the *Engliſh* Biſhops looked upon as an Incroachment, and Uſurpation, and Burthen upon them. And *Athelardus*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, going to *Rome* about this time, whether upon the occaſion of this Uſurpation, or in purſuance of it to demand a Pall, or to engage *Leo* the Third, then Pope, in the deſign to reunite the Province of *Canterbury* is uncertain, but it ſeems not unlikely, that this new pretence had a great ſhare in that Journey.

(*c*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 237.

For the Synodical Epiſtle of the *Engliſh* Biſhops, ſent by *Athelardus* to Pope *Leo*, (*d*) *is little elſe but a Remonſtrance, ſhewing the novelty and unreaſonableneſs of that pretence*; *for therein they tell that Prelate, that they underſtood by the Hiſtory of* Bede, *that their Predeceſſors knew nothing of the fatigue and drudgery of going to* Rome *for Palls, as of late had been uſed*: *That* Auſtin, *after the Converſion of the* Engliſh, *went to the Archbiſhop of* Arles *to receive Conſecration*: *That during his Life-time he Conſecrated his Succeſſor* Laurentius: *That* Mellitus *and* Juſtus, *the ſucceeding Archbiſhops, were likewiſe Conſecrated by* Auſtin, *and* Paulinus *by* Juſtus: *That in an Epiſtle of* Albinus *or* Alcuinus, *to King* Offa, *he had told that Prince,*

(*d*) *Angl. Sac. Par.* 1. *p.*461.

Prince, that the Engliſh *Archbiſhops ought to conſecrate each other; and that it was the Duty of the Biſhop of* Rome, *to ſend a Pall to the Archbiſhop ſo conſecrated; that this had been practiſed in the caſes of* Juſtus, Paulinus, *and* Honorius; *that it was the Diſſentions of Princes which had changed this Uſage contrary to the Canons of the Church:* And that whilſt this Uſage continued, *the Biſhops of* Rome *practiſed the Adviſe of our Saviour, freely ye have received, freely give; and there was no room for Symony.*

SECT. V. In this manner did the *Engliſh* Biſhops write to Pope *Leo*, the reaſon ſeems to be that beforementioned: The truth of it is, when this Uſage of giving a Pall begun to prevail, about the time of *Gregory the Great*, that Prelate was ſo far from making it neceſſary to an Archbiſhop, that he himſelf ſent ſeveral Palls to ſeveral private Biſhops, (*a*) and determined it ſhould only be beſtowed on Biſhops of ſingular Merit, and upon their deſire (*b*); and that when it was given, it ſhould be beſtowed without any Fees, or charge of the Perſon to whom it was given. And this was confirmed by a Canon of a Synod held by Pope *Gregory* in *Rome* (*c*); and if this one Canon had been obſerved, all the other Canons relating to this Uſage, might have been ſpared; and the neceſſity thereof had been unknown to this Day, if *Gregory*'s Succeſſors had not departed from his Doctrine, and learnt in after Ages to make uſe of the Pall, as an Artifice to enlarge their Power and enrich themſelves; for it was making it thus uſeful to themſelves, that firſt made it ſo neceſſary to the Archbiſhops of the Weſtern Churches.

Annis 798. 799.

(*a*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 7. *Epiſ.* 5.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) *Concil. Tom.* 5. *Col.* 1587. *Ed. Lab.*

But it is plain, by an Epiſtle of *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, that he had no ſooner introduced that Uſage into *France*, but Corruption immediately followed it; and nothing leſs can be meant by the Inſinuation of the *Engliſh* Prelates, when they ſay, that anciently there was no Symony, and that the Biſhops of *Rome* gave freely; but that the extortion of Money had followed this Uſage into *England*; and it is not unlikely, that this Corruption, and the dangerous pretence which ſupported it, gave occaſion to this Synodical Epiſtle ſent by the *Engliſh* Biſhops to Pope *Leo*.

But

But whatever the occaſion was, that Remonſtrance has ſuch Marks of Wiſdom and Foreſight as could not be expected from Men charmed with the Arts and Superſtition of *Rome*, and that had only taſted of the greedineſs of that See; for by aſſerting their Right to Conſecrate their own Metropolitans, and that their going to *Rome* to demand their Palls was a Novelty and Abuſe, they did plainly aſſert their being a Church free and independant on the Patriarchate of *Rome*; the Conſecration, or at leaſt the Confirmation of Metropolitans within their Patriarchate, being ever eſteemed the firſt and diſtinguiſhing Right of every Patriarch, a Right too, ſo eſſential and inſeparable from the Patriarchal Dignity, that *Monſieur du Pin* (*a*) reproaches the Ignorance of thoſe who pretend to ſet them apart. I extreamly wonder, ſaith he, that ſome Men, who confeſs, that the Biſhops of *Rome* had not a Right to conſecrate all the Metropolitans of the Weſtern Churches, do yet pretend, that the Biſhops of *Rome* were Patriarchs of all the *Weſt*.

(*a*) *Diſſertat. de Antiq. Eccl. Diſciplin. pag.* 42.

Beſides, the foreſaid Epiſtle, which ſeems to be the Synodical Epiſtle wrote by *Athelardus* and his Suffragans, and mentioned in the Epiſtle of *Kenulphus*, King of the *Mercians* (*b*), *Kenulphus* wrote another Letter upon this occaſion, in the Name of his Biſhops and Nobility, as well as of himſelf, wherein he tells Pope *Leo*, that he was informed, that the Diviſion of the Province of *Canterbury* was contrary to the Canons of Pope *Gregory* (*c*); and blames the See of *Rome* for the ſhare it had in erecting the new Archbiſhoprick. In anſwer to which, Pope *Leo*, in a Letter to *Kenulphus*, King of the *Mercians*, and the Nobility and Biſhops of *England*, endeavours to excuſe the Conduct of Pope *Adrian*, and ſaith, that that Prelate had not been the doer of it; only at the deſire of *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, and ſeveral of the Biſhops and Nobility of *England*, that Prelate had approved what they had done, and ſent a Pall to the new Archbiſhop (*d*). And in the ſame Epiſtle Pope *Leo* approv'd the Proceedings of *Kenulph*, as *Adrian* had done that of *Offa*.

(*b*) Malmsb. *de Geſt. Reg. Angl. Lib.* 1. *fol.* 16.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) *Angliæ Sac. Par.* 1. *p.*460.

Anno 799.

SECT. VI. But though all this Ceremony was paid to theſe Prelates, it ſeems evident from *Malmsbury*'s Account of theſe Affairs, that *Offa* erected the new Archbiſhoprick, and then ſent to *Rome* to have the approbation

bation of what he had done; and that *Kenulphus* took the ſame Method in uniting the divided Province, of whom that Hiſtorian ſaith, that he reſtored *Athelard* to the ancient Dignity his Predeceſſor *Lambert* was depriv'd of (*a*); and the Matter will be ſtill plainer, that his Reſtoration was the Act of the King, if we may rely on the Authority of the *Saxon-Chronicle*; for what is ſaid of this Prelates holding a Provincial Synod, together with twelve Suffragan Biſhops, in the Year 796. (*b*).

(*a*) Malmsb. *de Geſt. Reg. Ang. Lib.* 1. *fol.* 15. *N.* 50.

(*b*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 796.

For this was two, if not three Years before he went to *Rome* upon that occaſion; and it is certain, he could not have half that number of Suffragans, if the Kingdom of *Mercia* was not reſtored to the Province of *Canterbury*. The Learned Collector of the *Britiſh* Councils (*c*) gives this Council the Title of the Council of *Bacanceld*, and places it in the Year 798; and amongſt the Subſcribers of this Council gives us the Name of *Adulphus*, formerly Archbiſhop of *Lichfield*, ſubſcribing as a private Biſhop, this would clear this Affair beyond diſpute, if it could be relied upon, becauſe it appears from hence, that *Athelardus* had recovered his Right, and the Biſhop of *Lichfield* given up his pretence, by appearing at the Synod of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, owned himſelf his Suffragan; and all this before the Biſhop of *Rome* was ſo much as let into the knowledge of this Affair: But as that Learned Writer well obſerves, it ſeems moſt probable, that this Council is miſtaken for that held at *Cloveſhoe* ſome Years after: However, what *Malmsbury* aſcribes to *Kenulphus* is no more than what he ſaith was intended, and would have been accompliſhed by his Predeceſſor *Egfride*, if Death had not prevented him (*d*).

(*c*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 317.

(*d*) Malmsb. *de Geſt. Pontif. Lib.* 1. *fol.* 113.

SECT. VII. This Century concluded with an Affair, which had a mighty influence on the ſucceeding Ages; and this was, the tranſlation of the *Roman* Empire to the *Franks*. *Charles Martel*, the Founder of the *Caroline* Line, and to whoſe Loyns *France* owes its Kings, and the moſt conſiderable Princes of the *Weſt* the beſt of their Blood, was above ſixty Years before only Mayre, and Duke of the *French*; from which Station the Family roſe by ſuch quick and haſty Steps, that his Son *Pipin*, by the Trains *Charles* had laid, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Crown of *France*, about the Year 751; and his Grand-

Anno 800.

ſon *Charlemaign*, after he had added *Germany* to his Dominions, was, on *Chriſtmas-Day*, this Year, crowned and proclaimed the *Roman* Emperor, and his Son *Pipin* King of *Italy*.

This Prince had, ſome Years before, been poſſeſt of *Rome*, and all that remained of the Empire in *Italy*, and diſpoſed and ordered all the Affairs thereof, as if it had been his own Dominion, but contented himſelf with the Title of *Patritian*, and perpetual Conſul and Tribune, till his time came to poſſeſs himſelf of the Title of Emperor. The pretence of the *Romans*, and Pope *Leo* was, the horrible Wickedneſs of the Empreſs *Irene*, who, about two or three Years before this, had put out the Eyes of her own Son, the Emperor *Conſtantine*, and poſſeſt her-ſelf of the Empire (*a*).

(*a*) Eutropii *Rer. Roman. Lib.* 23. *pag.* 332.

But how wicked ſoever that Princeſs was, it appears, that after his advance to the Empire, *Charlemaign*, in hopes to unite the two Empires, or at leaſt to get poſſeſſion of the Eaſtern Empire, ſent to propoſe a Match betwixt himſelf and that Princeſs: And this Affair was ſo far advanced, that *Charles*'s Embaſſadors were at *Conſtantinople* to conclude it, when that Princeſs was depoſed, and baniſhed by *Nicephorus* (*b*); this put an end to this Treaty, but gave beginning to another, by which it was, about two Years after, agreed, that *Charles* ſhould quietly enjoy the Title of Emperor, and all the Dominions belonging thereunto in *Italy* to the Rivers of *Aufidus*, and the *Vulturnia* (*c*).

(*b*) Eutropii *Rer. Roman. Lib.* 23. *p.* 334.

(*c*) Mezeray *Life* Charlem. *Anno* 802.

But however unſucceſsful this Treaty with the Empreſs was, the Treaty is enough to ſhew, that the Biſhop and People of *Rome* acted upon other Views; and that the Wickedneſs of that Princeſs was only a cover to ſomewhat elſe: And he who conſiders how *Charles*, and the Biſhop and People of *Rome*, found their ſeveral Accounts in this Tranſaction, will not be long to ſeek for the true reaſon of it; and a little time will ſhew us of what conſequence this Change was to the Churches, as well as the Kingdoms of the *Weſt*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Ab Anno 800 ad Annum 816.

SECT. I. *REvolutions in the State, with which this Century begins: The effects thereof on the Affairs of the Church.*

II. *Council held at* Cloveſhoe: *Reunion of the Province of* Canterbury *confirmed therein. Monaſteries forbid to chooſe Seculars for their Governours: Reflections on the Subſcriptions to that Decree.*

III. *Councils of* Cloveſhoe *and* Bacanceld *confounded: The aforeſaid Conſtitution aſcribed to both: Reflections thereon.*

IV. *Mr.* Wharton's *Judgment of the Council of* Bacanceld: *That of* Spelman: *Objections againſt it.*

V. *Conſtitution of* Leo *not ſubſcribed at the Council of* Cloveſhoe: *Conjecture at the Reaſon and Occaſion of the Subſcriptions aſcribed to the Council of* Cloveſhoe.

VI. Athelardus, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *dies immediately after the re-union of his Province: The Biſhop of* Lichfield *continues his Pall:* Alcuinus's *ſenſe thereof, and terms of Accommodation offered to him.*

VII. Eardulphus, *King of* Northumberland, *ſaid by* Baronius *to be reſtored by Pope* Leo: *The Account our Hiſtorians give of that Affair.*

VIII. Baronius *contradicted by the Foreign Hiſtorians: His Inferences from the Charity of* Offa, *and Reſtoration of* Eardulphus *equally groundleſs: The folly thereof.*

IX. *Pope* Leo *reſtored by* Charlemaign: Baronius *has not the ſame ſenſe thereof, as of the Reſtoration of the King of* Northumberland: *Contrary inference from them by the favourers of the Papal Power.*

X. *Council of* Calcuith *meets: Canons thereof.*

XI. *Decreeing part of this Council in the name of the Biſhops: In the ancient* Engliſh *Councils Names not ſubſcribed, but ſigned with the ſign of the Croſs: Their Pattern taken from the antient Church.*

XII. *Coun-*

XII. *Councils and Charters wherein Monaſticks concerned, different from other Councils: Inſtances thereof not to be all pronounced Impoſtures.*

XIII. *Conjecture at the reaſon of this difference in the forms of thoſe Aſſemblies which paſs by the Names of Councils.*

Anno 801. SECT. I. THis Age begun with a turn of Affairs in *England*, not unlike to that in the Empire, with which the laſt Century concluded; for the Heptarchy which had now continued two or three Ages, in the beginning of this Age determined in the Monarchy of *Egbert*, a King of the *Weſt-Saxons*: The Heptarchy had been ſubject to the Inconveniences that ever attend little Principalities, contiguous, and ill diſtinguiſh'd; and this had frequently changed the Boundaries of theſe Kingdoms, in proportion to the Power and Conduct of the Princes that poſſeſſed them; and the ſeveral Princes had the Titles of Monarchs, and Tributaries in their turns; but the Title of Monarch, which ever waited on Succeſs, was, for that reaſon, ever fleeting and uncertain, and ſhifted from one Kingdom to another, but was never Hereditary till this Century.

In the latter end of the laſt Century, *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, a great and powerful Prince, by continual War impoveriſh'd and broke the Forces of the neighbouring Kingdoms, and preſerved the Title of Monarch to himſelf, during his Life-time; and his Succeſſor in that Kingdom maintained that Poſt, till *Egbert*, a King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, overcame him in Battle, and ſnatch'd that Title from his hands. *Egbert* was great Nephew to *Ina*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; and for this reaſon *Brihtric*, his immediate Predeceſſor, was jealous of him; and this forced him firſt to fly to the Court of *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*; but thinking himſelf not ſafe there, he fled into *France*, where he continued for ſome time, under the Protection of *Charlemaign*.

Anno 802. But *Brihtric*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, dying not long after, a way was opened to his return; for upon his Death *Egbert* was called home, and advanced to the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*; and no ſooner was he well ſettled in his Kingdom, but he turned his Arms againſt

againſt the *Britons*; afterwards overcoming *Beornwulfus*, King of the *Mercians*, in the Battel of *Hellendune*, about the Year 823, (*a*) he quickly made that Kingdom, together with thoſe of the *Northumbrians* and *Eaſt-Angles*, Tributary, and united the other Kingdoms to his own.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 823.

The Church could not but have a great part in theſe Changes and violent Revolutions of the State; and the Depredations of the *Danes*, and other Northern People, who for ſome time had infeſted the Coaſts of *England* and *France*, by deſtroying of Monaſteries and Churches, and maſſacring the Clergy and Monks, whenever in their Power, added ſtill to the Diſquiet and Calamities the Churches of *England* ſuffered in the beginning of this Century.

SECT. II. Before the War betwixt *Egbert* the *Weſt-Saxon*, and the *Mercians* broke out, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* returned from *Rome*, with Pope *Leo*'s Approbation of what had been done in *England*, in the reſtoration of the See of *Canterbury*, to its ancient Dignity (*b*); and, taking the advantage of the preſent Peace, a Provincial Synod was called, and met at *Cloveſhoe*, in the Year 803, (*c*) where the Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury* being met together, *Athelard*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbuey*, preſided as their Metropolitan; and having firſt related the Proceedings of King *Offa*, in dividing the Province, he, in the Name of the Council, denounced the heavy Wrath and Indignation of Almighty God againſt all Princes or Prelates, that ſhould preſume, for the time to come, to invade the Rights, or leſſen the Privileges of the Archbiſhops or See of *Canterbury* (*d*).

Anno 803.

(*b*) *Epiſt. Leonis Concil. Britan. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 322.

(*c*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 324.

(*d*) Ibid.

In ſeveral Editions of the Councils, immediately after this Council, there is ſubjoined a Conſtitution, intituled, a Decree of Archbiſhop *Athelard*, concerning the Liberty or Privileges of Religious Houſes in the choice of their Governours, being, in effect, the ſame with a late Conſtitution of Pope *Leo*, forbidding the Monaſticks to chooſe Secular Perſons for their Governours. This Council is ſaid to be held the fourth of the Ides of *October*, the eleventh of the Indiction, and in the Year 803, and to be ſubſcribed by twelve Biſhops, beſides the Archbiſhop, nineteen Abbots, thirty eight Presbyters, one Archdeacon, and two Deacons; and in the Col-

lections of *Spelman*, and *Labbe*, the World is obliged with their Names.

Yet one has much ado to forbear thinking, that the Affair of the See of *Canterbury*, and the confirming the Conſtitution of Pope *Leo*, were not the Product of one Aſſembly; and that the Subſcriptions, if not the Work, of a later hand, rather contain the Names of ſuch of the Clergy, as in time received the Conſtitution of *Leo*, than the Names of the Perſons who were preſent in this Council.

Anno 803. SECT. III. All that ſeems certain, and to be relied upon, is, that about the beginning of this Century, the Kingdom of *Mercia* was reſtored to the Province of *Canterbury*; and that the 'foreſaid Conſtitution was about this time received by the *Engliſh* Church; but when this is ſaid, all that remains is attended with Difficulties that are not to be accounted for, eſpecially what is ſaid of the 'foreſaid Conſtitution of *Leo*, and the Subſcriptions ſaid to be made thereunto at the Council of *Cloviſhoe*; for the *Saxon* Chronicle tells us of a Council called by *Ethelard*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 796 (*a*); wherein the 'foreſaid Conſtitution of *Leo* was received by that Prelate, and twelve Suffragan Biſhops; and yet it appears from the ſame Authority, (*b*) that the Kingdom of *Kent* was that very Year laid waſte, and the King thereof taken Priſoner by *Cenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, and carried away, had his Eyes put out, and his Hands cut off.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 796.

(*b*) Ibid.

And if there was no other Objection againſt that Council, one would think the Confuſions ſuch a War muſt neceſſarily occaſion, ſhould leave no room for an Aſſembly of this kind; nor does that Aſſembly ſeem better to agree with *Leo*'s acceſſion to the Chair, than to the preſent ſtate of Affairs in *England*; for upon inquiry it appears, that *Leo* was but that Year, or, at the moſt, the middle of the Year preceeding, advanced to the Papacy, and could not have time to make and tranſmit this Conſtitution to *England*. The Learned Collector of the *Britiſh* Councils, calls that Council the *Council of Bacanceld*, and places it in the Year 798.

That Council takes no notice of the Affairs of the Province of *Canterbury*, but in what reſpects the Conſtitution aſcribed to *Leo*, that Council is word for word the

the ſame with that ſaid to be held at *Cloveſhoe* about five Years after; and for the moſt part the Names of the Subſcribers are the ſame; but whereas the *Saxon Chronicle* (*a*) ſaith, there were only twelve Suffragan Biſhops preſent at the Council of *Baconceld*, in the Subſcriptions to this Council we have the Names of ſeventeen Biſhops ſubſcribed, which are four or five more than ever there were at one time within the Province of *Canterbury*; and three or four of the Biſhops who are ſaid to ſubſcribe this Council, had been dead at leaſt forty or fifty Years before; and this, as Mr. *Wharton* obſerves, was the caſe of *Daniel*, *Fothere* and *Acca* (*b*): To which may be added, that thoſe three Biſhops lived together in the beginning of the Eighth Century; *Daniel* was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter* about the Year 705, and died about the Year 745; *Forthere* was made Biſhop of *Sherborn* about the Year 710, and died about the Year 737; *Acca* was made Biſhop of *Hagulſtad* about the Year 709, and died about the Year 739; and it is probable, that ſome of thoſe Biſhops whoſe Names are affixed to this Council, were not Biſhops till ſome Years after, as it is evident, that the above-mentioned died before.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 796.

(*b*) H. Whart *de Epiſt.* Lond *pag.* 22.

SECT. IV. Upon theſe grounds, the 'foreſaid Council of *Bacanceld* is rejected as an Impoſture by Mr. *Wharton* (*c*): And the Learned Collector thinks it to be the ſame with that of *Cloveſhoe* (*d*); but this conjecture, by ſubjecting that Council to the Objections againſt the former, will rather rob us of the Council of *Cloveſhoe*, than defend that of *Bacanceld*; beſides, whatever is to be ſaid for that Council of *Cloveſhoe*, there are certainly ſome Miſtakes in the circumſtances thereof; for whereas it is ſaid to be held in the Year 803, the eleventh of the Indiction, and the fourth of the Ides of *October*, it is manifeſt, that the fourth Ides of *October*, the eleventh of the Indiction, falls in with the Year 802, and the fourth Ides of *October* in the Year 803, is the twelfth of the Indiction.

Anno 803.

(*c*) H. Whart *de Epiſ.* Lond. *pag.* 22.

(*d*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 318.

Beſides, according to the Judicious Author of the *Faſti*, *Werebert*, Biſhop of *Leiceſter*, one of the Subſcribers of this Council, was not made Biſhop of *Leiceſter* till the Year 807; and *Almund*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, not till the Year following; and *Oſmund*, Biſhop of *London*, not till ten Years after this Council; and whereas *Weohthun*

Weohthun ſubſcribes as Biſhop of *Selſey*, it appears that *Oſa* or *Boſa* was Biſhop of that See in the Year 803; and the 'foreſaid Judicious Writer places the Succeſſion of *Wehthun*, or *Weohthun*, in the Year 873, which is ſeventy Years after this Council. To this may be added, the obſervation of the Learned Collector on this Council, that the manner of ſubſcribing is what he had never ſeen in any Provincial Council (*a*).

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Tom.* I. *pag.* 326.

Anno 803. SECT. V. Upon the whole Matter, although there ſeems no reaſon to doubt, that there was ſuch an Aſſembly as the Council of *Cloveſhoe* about this time, by which the union of the Province of *Canterbury* was approved, and that the Conſtitution of *Leo* was alſo received by the *Engliſh* Church about this time; yet there is great reaſon to think, that theſe two things, however laid together, were not the iſſue of one Aſſembly; and that the Subſcriptions, which paſs under the Name of Subſcriptions to the Council of *Cloveſhoe* (if not a work of later date) were the Subſcriptions of ſeveral Dioceſan Synods, to the Conſtitution of Pope *Leo*, either by deſign, or a miſtake in the Copies, miſapplied to the Council of *Cloveſhoe*. And as the Preamble to thoſe Subſcriptions ſhew they are limited to that particular Conſtitution, and ſeems to juſtify this Conjecture; ſo likewiſe the ſubſcribing of the Biſhops, without any regard to ſeniority of Conſecration, as was cuſtomary in all Provincial Synods; but every Biſhop, together with the Abbots and Clergy of his Dioceſs by themſelves, ſeem no other way to be accounted for, but by a ſuppoſing that the ſaid Subſcriptions were made in their reſpective Dioceſes, and at ſeveral times, according as that Conſtitution by degrees prevailed.

But whenever this Conſtitution was received, the reaſon thereof may poſſibly give us ſome light into the preſent ſtate of the Monaſticks. It appears by the Teſtimony of *Bede*, (*b*) that it was an uſual practice in the beginning of the laſt Century, not only for the Nobility and better ſort to build or turn their Houſes into Monaſteries, and preſide over thoſe for Men, as their Wives did over thoſe for Women; and that by theſe means Monaſteries became Hereditary; but alſo that it was uſual for Princes to give to their Courtiers and Governours of Provinces, the government of ſuch Foun-

(*b*) Bed. *Epiſt. ad* Egbert. *pag.* 26.

dations,

dations as by their dedication to Retirement and Devotion ſeem more properly to have anſwered the modern Notion of Monaſteries: And as it thus appears, that theſe were the uſual practices of the two preceding Ages, the reaſon of the foreſaid Conſtitution leads one to believe, that theſe Uſages were hitherto continued in *England*, and conſequently, that the *Benedictine* Rule ſo much magnified by after Ages was not yet received, at leaſt not obſerved in *England*.

And by the Capitulars of *Charles the Great* (*a*) it appears that this was the caſe of *France*, and this and other Weſtern Nations, at leaſt that ſeveral Monaſteries were govern'd by Secular, and ſome by Military Perſons; and it ſeems evident, that the intention of this Conſtitution was to ſuppreſs this practice, and conſequently thoſe who had been bred Monaſticks, had ſo viſible an Intereſt in the execution of a Canon, deſigned to ſhut out all others from the Preferments they were willing to keep to themſelves, that this conſideration would almoſt tempt one to think, that the inconſiſtency of Names and Dates had the ſame beginning with the like Errors, viſible in ſome of the Charters aſcribed to this Age, and was a Work of later Times, which, to add Pomp and Reputation to this Conſtitution, added Names to it, and aſcribed it to the Council of *Cloveſhoe*. And the Errors in the Date of the ſaid Council, may in the ſame manner be accounted for.

(*a*) *Concil. Tom.* 7. *Col.* 1186. *Ed.* Lab.

Having ſaid all this, partly to ſhew how difficult it is to make a true Judgment of the Forms and Circumſtances of the *Engliſh* Councils in this Age, from the imperfect remains we have of them; and partly to prevent the Objections which from the foreſaid Subſcriptions ſeem chargable on the Council of *Cloveſhoe*: It is time to return, and obſerve the courſe of Affairs which enſued the breaking up of that Council, and the reunion of the Province of *Canterbury*.

SECT. VI. The Province of *Canterbury* being reſetled, *Athelardus*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had the leaſt ſhare in the Honour which his Succeſſors are indebted to him for, for he died ſome time in the laſt, or in the beginning of this Year, whilſt *Adulphus*, late Archbiſhop of *Lichfield*, ſurvived the Mortification he ſuffered under; and is, it may be, the only Example in *Anno* 804.

Story, of one who in his own time lived to ſee a private See raiſed to an Archbiſhoprick, and reduced to its firſt ſtate again; however, for ought appears to the contrary, without any ſtruggle or noiſe, he quietly parted with the Honour he had enjoyed for ten or twelve Years; and by his Conduct in this Affair, has left behind him ſome Marks of the Piety and particular Merit *Alcuinus* aſcribes to him (*a*); and it ſeems not unlikely, that he continued to enjoy the Honour *Alcuinus* ſollicited for in his behalf.

(*a*) Alcuini *Epiſt.* Malmſ. *de Geſt. Pont. Lib.* 1. *fol.* 113.

Alcuinus ſeems to have had a particular Friendſhip, both with *Athelardus* and *Adulphus*; and therefore in an Epiſtle of his to *Athelardus*, at the ſame time that he congratulates with that Prelate the reſtoration of his See to its ancient Honour, he offers at terms to adjuſt the Controverſy betwixt thoſe two Prelates, wherein he propoſes, that the Conſecration of the Biſhops of *Mercia* ſhould be reſtored to *Athelardus*, but that *Adulphus* ſhould ſtill continue the uſe of the Pall (*b*), which had been ſent him by Pope *Adrian:* So little was *Alcuinus*, though it may be the greateſt Man this Age had bred, acquainted with the extravagant Doctrine of *Innocent* the Third, and the later Canoniſts, who have told the World, that the Pall is a Mark and Enſign of the plenitude of Apoſtolick Power (*c*), and that it carries with it the Title and Functions of an Archbiſhop, that he thought *Adulphus* might continue the uſe of the Pall, though he parted with the Character and Functions of an Archbiſhop.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) *Decretal. Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 8. *cap.* 3.

Accordingly Pope *Leo* confirmed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Power of conſecrating and confirming the Biſhops of *Mercia*, (*d*) but left *Adulphus* undiſturb'd in the poſſeſſion of his Pall, well-knowing, that when thoſe peculiar and diſtinguiſhing Rights of a Metropolitan were taken away, he muſt of neceſſity become a private Biſhop, though he continued the poſſeſſion and uſe of his Pall.

(*d*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 796. *N.* 33.

Anno 809. SECT. VII. The Wars and Confuſions in the State had made a longer interruption in the Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Church, if *Baronius*, who had ſo particular Sagacity in finding out every thing that might tend to the Honour of the Biſhops of *Rome*, had not furniſhed us with an Example of the great Power thoſe Prelates had over

over the *Engliſh* Princes in reſtoring *Eardulphus*, a King of the *Northumbrians* to his Kingdom, in the compaſs of this Year, an Argument of the Power of the Biſhops of *Rome*, which that Learned Prelate exceedingly magnifies, and lays a great deal of ſtreſs upon: And thus much appears certain, that that Prince was forced out of his Kingdom about the Year 806, (*a*) and that a Treaty was ſet on foot by *Charlemaign* and Pope *Leo* the Third, for his Reſtoration; and that ſeveral Letters paſſed on this ſubject betwixt them and *Cenulphus* King of the *Mercians*, *Eanbald* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Wado* a great Man amongſt the *Northern Engliſh* (*b*), and that both *Charles* and *Leo* ſent their Legates into *England* upon this occaſion.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 806.

(*b*) *Epiſt.* Leonis *Concil. Tom.* 7. *Col.* 1119 & 1123.

But the Epiſtles of Pope *Leo* to *Charlemaign*, which give the beſt Light we have into this Affair, ſay not one ſyllable of the reſtoration of that Prince, or of the Iſſues of the Treaties relating thereunto; nor do we find his Reſtoration mentioned by any *Engliſh* Writer, but on the contrary they agree, for the moſt part, in affirming a ſtate of Anarchy and Confuſion in the Kingdom of *Northumberland* about this time; according to *Malmſbury*, (*c*) for thirty three Years, commencing from the Murther of *Ethelred*, about the Year 794, and not ending till *Egbert*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, about the Year 827, poſſeſſed himſelf of that Kingdom. *Harpsfield* follows *Malmsbury* in this Opinion (*d*).

(*c*) Malmsb. *de Geſt. Reg. Angl. Lib.* 1. *fol.* 14.

(*d*) Harpsfield *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Secul.* 8 *cap.* 21.

Agreeably hereunto the Chronicle of *Mailros*, (*e*) which takes notice of the expulſion of *Eardulph*, ſays, that Kingdom continued without a King for many Years. *M. Weſtminſter* ſaith, that *Eardulphus* was driven out of his Kingdom by *Alwold*, who ſucceeded him in that Kingdom; but dying about two Years after *Eandredus* ſucceeded him, and reigned thirty two Years (*f*), ſo little were our Hiſtorians acquainted with the Affair *Baronius* makes ſuch a noiſe about.

(*e*) *Rerum Anglican. Script. Col. Gal. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 141.

(*f*) M. Weſtm. *Flor. Hiſt. An.* 810. *pag.* 153.

SECT. VIII. But if our Hiſtorians are miſtaken, and it ſhould be allowed, that this Prince was reſtored, the Foreign Writers, who mention this Affair, give Pope *Leo* ſo little a ſhare in the reſtoration of that Prince, that that Prelate would have been no great loſer by it, if the Story had been quite forgotten. *Aventinus* ſaith, that upon the expulſion of that Prince, he came to the Court of *Charlemaign*, and gave him an Account of what

Anno 809.

what had befallen him, and from thence went in Pilgrimage to *Rome*; and that, after his return from *Rome*, the Embaſſadors of the Emperor and Pope accompanied him into *England* (*a*). The Account of *Ado Viennenſis* is to the ſame effect (*b*).

(*a*) Aventin. *Annal. Boior. Lib.* 4. *pag.* 210. *N.* 30.

(*b*) Adoniſ. *Chron. An.* 809. *pag.*234.

This is the moſt favourable Account on the ſide of Pope *Leo*; but, on the contrary, *Sigebert*, without taking any notice of Pope *Leo*, ſaith, that *Eardulphus*, King of the *Northumbrians*, was reſtored to his Country and Kingdom, by the Emperor *Charles the Great* (*c*): In ſhort, the leaſt thing that can be ſaid of that Prince is, that he had an equal ſhare in the good Offices done to the King of *Northumberland*; and yet no body had ever Vanity enough to attempt to prove from thence, that *England* was at this time a Fee of the Empire.

(*c*) Sigebert *Chronicon. An.* 808.

And indeed, if Titles were to be founded on the good Offices of Princes and States to one another, this would make ſuch confuſion of Titles, that the Princes of Chriſtendom would be in a much worſe condition than their Subjects; and yet whilſt this is thought a Folly of ſuch a monſtrous ſize, as can never enter into a Man's Head, till he has firſt parted with his Reaſon to make room for it: So great a Man as *Baronius*, from the Charity of *Offa*, aſſerts the *Engliſh* Kings Feudatories to the Biſhops of *Rome* (*d*); and ſpeaks of the good Offices of *Leo* to *Eardulphus*, in ſuch ſtrains of exultation and triumph, as if they were the higheſt Inſtances, and moſt irrefragable Proof of the exerciſe of the Sovereign Power he aſcribes to thoſe Prelates; or, to ſpeak properly, the Power he gives them; for having firſt related the reſtoration of that Prince by Pope *Leo*, he turns again and invites his Reader to taſte the Joys that a reflection on ſo agreeable a Subject entertained him with. In this Example thou haſt ſeen (ſaith that Writer) the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* expreſſed in Deeds; for when the Emperor was ſenſible of his want of Right and Power to reſtore the deprived King, he ſent him away to *Rome* to Pope *Leo*, that he might reſtore him to his Kingdom by his Authority. Here too thou haſt ſeen what a profound Submiſſion the *Engliſh* paid to the

(*d*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 740. *N.* 18.

Vidiſti in his, Romani Pontificis autoritatem factis expreſſam, quod enim non ſatis ſibi ſuppetere juris, intelligeret imperator, Regem ejectum in regnum priſtinum reſtituere; ab ipſo Pontifice Romano id præſtari poſſe, ſciens dimiſit ipſum regem regno privatum Romam ad Leonem Pontificem, cujus autoritate reſtituatur in regnum. Vidiſti pariter quantum Papæ detulerint Angli, licet furore perciti, & regnandi cupiditate inflammati, ut expulſum à ſe Regem eum reſtitutum autoritate Pontificis recipere non detrectarint, ſed ſtatim paruerint. Baronii Annal. An. 808. N. 43.

the Pope, for although infinitely enraged againſt their Prince, and inflamed with an ambitious deſire to Rule, yet without delay they preſently obeyed, and, at the Command of the Pope, reſtored the Prince they had driven from his Throne. One is amazed to ſee ſuch different effects of the ſame Facts; if the Kings of *England* give a Charity, they are declared Tributaries for it; if they receive a good turn, it is proof they are Vaſſals; ſo that whether they give or receive they are ſtill loſers; whilſt, on the contrary, the Biſhops of *Rome* gain both ways, and become Princes by receiving a Charity, and are ſaid to exerciſe a Sovereign Power if they do a good turn.

SECT. IX. But though the Learned *Baronius* thus mightily labours to brighten the unknown reſtoration of *Eardulphus* by Pope *Leo*, the reſtoration of Pope *Leo* himſelf who was cruelly treated and driven from *Rome*, and forced to fly into *France* to *Charlemaign*, and was by him reſtored again, though related at large by that Prelate, (*a*) has not ſo much as one cold reflection in favour of the Emperor: On the contrary, the miniſterial Office of Pope *Leo* in putting the Imperial Crown on the Head of that Emperor, makes a new Subject for the Vanity of thoſe who ſet themſelves to flatter the Papal Power. *Anno* 809.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 816.

But, as ill luck would have it, the reſtoration of Pope *Leo*, and the crowning the Emperor, were tranſactions of the ſame date. *Charles* brought *Leo* back to *Italy*, or ſent him thither with the Army under the command of *Pipin* his Son, the later end of the Year 800, and arriving himſelf the eighth of the Calends of *December*, after ſome time ſpent in hearing his Cauſe, and *Leo*'s purgation of himſelf, he reſtored him to his Biſhoprick ſome time in *December* that Year; and on *Chriſtmas-Day* following was crowned by him; yet, becauſe *Charles*, who had long before been poſſeſſed of *Rome*, and a great part of *Italy*, and of the Power of the ancient Emperors of *Rome*, thought fit to take to himſelf the Title of Emperor, and ſuffer the Imperial Crown to be put on his Head by Pope *Leo*, ſome Men have Folly enough to aſcribe the diſpoſal, at leaſt the tranſlation of the *Roman* Empire from the *Greeks* to the *Franks*, to that Prelate, ſo lately exiled, ſo lately reſtored, and who had

not Intereſt enough to keep or recover his own Chair, or preſerve himſelf from the contempt and barbarous Uſage of the People of *Rome*.

And which is more, Pope *Leo* did at this time own *Charles* as his Judge and Sovereign Lord, and did not ſit down in his Chair, till he had firſt given an Oath of Fidelity to that Prince, (*a*) and ever acknowledged himſelf, and was ever treated as a Subject by him; and yet *Baronius* (*b*) himſelf ſpeaks of the Oath of the Emperor, at this his Coronation, in ſuch terms, as if he intended it ſhould be thought an Oath of Fealty, rather than the uſual Oath of Sovereign Princes, to preſerve the Rights of the Church and People under their Care and Government.

(*a*) Spanhem. *Introduct. ad Hiſt. Tom.* 2. *pag.* 806.

(*b*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 800. *N.* 10.

And the better to colour this pretence, an Oath unknown to the Writers of this Age, (*c*) and in all probability not formed till the time of *Gregory* the Seventh, is ſaid to be taken by this Prince, ſuch wild and extravagant Opinions do Men run into, when God gives them over to ſtrong deluſions, and ſuffers them to believe a Lye. But to return to the Affairs of *England*.

(*c*) Spanhem. *Introduct. ad Hiſtor. Tom.* 2. *pag.* 796. *ſect.* 12.

Anno 816. SECT. X. Whilſt *Egbert*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, wholly imployed his Arms againſt the *Britons*, and the *Northern Engliſh* one againſt another, the Midland, the Eaſterly and Southern parts of *England* under *Kenulphus*, King of the *Mercians*, enjoyed ſome tolerable quiet, and had leiſure to turn their thoughts to the Affairs of Religion; accordingly this Year a Council was called, which met at *Calcuith* the ſixth of the Calends of *Auguſt*, or the twenty ſeventh of *July*, *Kenulph*, together with his Nobility and his Great Officers, were preſent in this Aſſembly, wherein *Wulfred*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, preſided, aſſiſted by the Biſhops, Abbots, and ſome of the lower Clergy of his Province.

The Canons of this Council are in all eleven, ſeveral whereof give great light to the preſent ſtate of Affairs, and may poſſibly explain ſome things that perplex the Accounts of preceding Councils, and therefore may deſerve a particular conſideration.

1. The firſt Canon decrees, That the Catholick Faith and ancient Canons be duly kept.

2. That new Churches be conſecrated by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, wherein they are built, with Holy Water, and con-

conſecration of the Euchariſt; and that the Picture of the Saint to whom it is dedicated, be drawn upon the Wall of the Church.

3. That Chriſtian Charity and Love be preſerved.

4. That Abbots and Abbeſſes be of unblameable Converſation, and choſe by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs with the conſent of the Convent.

5. That the *Scotch* Clergy ſhall not be allowed to exerciſe the Offices of their Miniſtry in *England*; it being uncertain by whom they received their Orders.

6. The ſixth confirms the Acts of preceding Councils, ſigned with the Croſs.

7. The ſeventh forbids the alienation of the Lands of Religious Houſes, except in caſes of great neceſſity, or letting of them longer than for one Life.

8. Requires that ſuch Monaſteries as had been once dedicated by conſent of the Biſhops, and wherein any Monaſtick Rule had been received, and the Abbot or Abbeſs had received Benediction from the Biſhop, that ſuch Monaſteries ſhould always remain Monaſteries unalienable, and never more be eſteemed the Property of Secular Perſons, nor the Houſes be the places of their Habitation.

9. That every Biſhop ſhall take a Copy of the Canons and Reſolutions of Councils, with the Year of the Lord, the Name of the Archbiſhop who preſided, and of his Suffragan Biſhops who aſſiſted therein.

10. The tenth directs the Funeral and Offices for departed Biſhops, and requires, that a full tenth of the Eſtate they leave be given to the Poor; that all the *Engliſh* Slaves they leave be ſet at liberty; and that all Honour may be done to their Memory, with giving praiſes to God; that in every Church, through every Dioceſs, upon the tolling of a Bell, the People aſſemble in their Churches, and ſing thirty Pſalms for the Soul of the deceaſed; and that every Biſhop and Abbot cauſe ſix hundred Pſalms, and one hundred and twenty Maſſes to be ſaid, ſet three Slaves at liberty, and give three Shillings in Charity; and that at the end of thirty Days their *Obiit* be celebrated in ſuch manner as they uſually obſerve the Feſtivals of their Saints.

11. The eleventh requires, that Biſhops ſhould not invade the Dioceſes of one another, in ordaining of Prieſts

Prieſts and Deacons, or the conſecration of Churches, excepting the Archbiſhop; that the Presbyters ſhall not aſſume greater Power to themſelves than is allowed them by their Biſhops; nor intermeddle in the Diſtricts of each other, unleſs in caſes of neceſſity, in adminiſtring Baptiſm, or viſiting the Sick; and that in adminiſtring Baptiſm, they ſhould dip, not ſprinkle the Child.

Anno 816. SECT. XI. Though *Kenulphus*, King of *Mercia*, and ſeveral of his Nobility, and ſeveral Abbots, Presbyters, and Deacons, are ſaid to be preſent in this Synod, it ſeems probable it was rather to adviſe, and give aſſiſtance, as to the Matter or Form of the things to be decreed, than to give their Vote or Suffrage to the Canons; at leaſt thus much is evident, that the decreeing part runs wholly in the Name of the Biſhops; and that when they ſpeak of the former Councils in the ſixth Canon of this Council, they aſſume the decreeing Power wholly to themſelves; and when they ſpeak of the Canons of thoſe Councils, ſtile them, *Judicia Epiſcoporum*, the Decrees of Biſhops, though there were ſeveral Kings as well as Nobility, and of the lower Clergy, who were aſſiſting in thoſe Councils; and the ſame ſtile and way of ſpeaking runs through this whole Council.

Therefore, though the Name of the King, and the Year of his Reign be expreſſed, yet as well the Preamble as the Body of the Council runs in the Name of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury*, and their Names are only mentioned in the Preamble; but there are no Names ſubſcribed; and indeed this ſeems to have been the practice of all the former *Engliſh* Councils; ſuch is the form of thoſe under *Auguſtin*, of thoſe of *Hertford* and *Hatfield* under *Theodore*, of the Council of *Cloveſhoe* under *Cuthbert*, in the Year 747.

The like Form appears in all the Aſſemblies, that may deſerve the Names either of National or Provincial Councils, that at *Calcuith*, in the Year 787, only excepted, from the coming of *Auſtin*, till after the *Norman* Revolution; the Archbiſhop being always particularly named, and the Biſhops of the Province ſometimes in particular, ſometimes under the general ſtile of the Aſſeſſors of the Archbiſhop, inſerted in the Preamble to the Council, but without any Subſcriptions of Names to the foot of the Canons; and when they did ſign the Reſo-

Reſolutions of Councils, it was not with their Names, but with the ſign of the Croſs: And however, the 'foreſaid Council of *Calcuith* may appear as an Inſtance to the contrary, it is twice ſaid in the Body of that Council, that the Archbiſhop and Biſhops ſigned it with the ſign of the Croſs, but not a ſyllable of ſubſcribing their Names, which doubtleſs would not have been omitted if it had been done, or then in uſe.

And the *Engliſh* Church ſeems to have taken their Pattern from the general Practice of the Catholick Church, there being no ſuch thing in any of the ſix firſt General Councils, as the Names of the Biſhops ſubſcribing the Council they were preſent at, nor in any of the firſt Provincial Councils, nor are their Names to be found therein, except the Name of the Biſhop who preſided therein, unleſs the writing of any Synodical Epiſtle occaſioned the mentioning of their Names.

SECT. XII. But a contrary practice appears in many of thoſe Aſſemblies, ſaid to be held at the founding, endowing, granting Charters or Privileges, or making Conſtitutions for the good government of Religious Houſes; but though in the Regiſters and Cartularies of the Monks, theſe Aſſemblies paſs under the general Names of Councils and Synods, and ſometimes of National Councils, and under the ſame Titles, are from thence inſerted in the five Volumes of *Britiſh* Councils, by the Learned Collector thereof; yet one who conſiders the Acts of thoſe Aſſemblies, ſhall not find one Canon or Conſtitution, or ſcarce any one thing in all thoſe Aſſemblies, but what relates to the Religious only. *Anno* 816.

The earlieſt Inſtance of this kind is, that Aſſembly which paſſes under the Title of the great Council of *Bacanceld*, held under *Withrid*, King of *Kent*, and *Berthwald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 694, (*a*) to which is affixed, a confuſed Subſcription of the Names of the King, the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and no leſs than five Abbeſſes, and after them one Biſhop, and eight Presbyters. The like confuſed Subſcription is affixed to a Charter of *Ina*, a King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, to the Monks of *Malmsbury* (*b*), to a Charter to the Abby of *Eveſham*, ſaid to be granted by *Conſtantine*, Biſhop of *Rome*; *Egwin*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*; and *Kenred* and

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 190.

(*b*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 227.

Offa, Kings of the *Mercians*; and ſaid to have been made at *Rome* in the Year 708 (*a*). The like to the Charter and famous Viſions of the foreſaid *Egwin* to a Charter of Privileges ſaid to be granted to the Monaſteries of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, by King *Ethelbald* (*b*). The like to the Conſtitution aſcribed to the Council of *Bacanceld* in the Year 798. And ſo fond were the later Monks of this kind of Pomp, that thoſe of *Peterborough* have furniſhed us with the Names of two Kings, and two Archbiſhops, Witneſſes to a Leaſe ſaid to be lett by the Abbot and Monks of that Abby (*c*); and indeed almoſt all the Charters and Grants to the Religious, down to the Conqueſt, are attended with ſuch Subſcriptions of Names.

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 210.

(*b*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 256.

(*c*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 775.

In ſhort, the Inſtances of this kind are ſo many, that though they are for the moſt part unfortunate in their Names and Dates, yet one would not be forward to pronounce them all Impoſtures.

Anno 816. SECT. XIII. But if one may be allowed to judge of a Matter ſo much in the dark, it ſeems probable, that the Names of the Archbiſhop, with the Biſhops aſſiſting him in Provincial Synods, were anciently only inſerted in the Preamble to the Canons thereof. And by the ſixth Canon of this Council it appears, that the ancient way of ſubſcribing Councils with the ſign of the Croſs, not with the Names of the Biſhops, was the preſent Uſage of the *Engliſh* Church: But the ninth Canon requiring the Biſhop of every Dioceſs to get a Copy of the Canons of the former Councils, and to have the Year of the Lord, and the Names of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops preſent at ſuch Councils inſerted therein, might probably give occaſion firſt to the Notaries to write the Names of the Biſhops, and in time to them to ſubſcribe their own Names.

And it ſeems very likely, that this afterward gave occaſion to the Monaſticks to apply the Names of the Biſhops, and fix Dates to older Councils, Charters, and Conſtitutions, in which they were more nearly concern'd. And hence the different Applications of Grants, Charters, and Conſtitutions to different Men and Councils, the inconſiſtency of Names and Dates, and confuſed Subſcriptions, and many of thoſe Difficulties that perplex and intangle our Hiſtory, and ſometimes lead Men to make

make a wrong Judgment of the Uſages and Conſtitution of the ancient *Engliſh* Church, may poſſibly be accounted for, without robbing us of ſo many Monuments of Antiquity, or laying a greater load on the Monaſticks, than it can appear they have deſerved: But to ſay nothing of the Art of making Charters, ſome of them have been noted for the great ſhare they had in the Ignorance of this and the ſucceeding Ages, and the mighty Zeal and Application with which they ever watched over the Intereſts of their Foundations, will ſtill add to the probability of this conjecture; but whatever is to be ſaid in favour of their Charters and Conſtitutions, there are ſome however ſaid to have the approbation of Synods, whoſe Faults are too big for any Charity to cover; and as they have the air and ſtile of their Legends, had probably the ſame beginning, and ſeem to deſerve the ſame credit and authority.

CHAP. XVI.

Ab Anno 816 ad Annum 854.

SECT. I. *CAtholick Unity defined by the Council of* Calcuith, *as by that of* Cloveſhoe, *contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of* Rome: *The occaſion thereof: The pretended Power of the Biſhops of* Rome.

II. *Authority of the Church of* England *aſſerted; and the Sentence of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *declared final by this Council: Appeals not allowed.*

III. *Senſe of this Council of the Bleſſed Sacrament.*

IV. *Senſe of this Council in point of Images and Reliques, contrary to that of* Nice.

V. Baronius's *Argument to prove Image-Worſhip, introduced by* Auſtin, *grounded on a Miſtake.*

VI. *Images not in uſe in* England *at the time of this Council.*

VII. *Monaſteries, or Colleges of Seculars and Regulars diſtinguiſhed: The like in other Weſtern Nations: The Rules of St.* Baſil, Benedict, *&c. not yet generally received.*

VIII. *An-*

VIII. *Antiquity of Secular Canons: Ground of quarrel betwixt Monks and married Clergy: State of the Lower Clergy in the Year* 816.

IX. Engliſh *Monarchy eſtabliſhed under* Egbert: *The Steps he made in order thereunto: Name of* England *ſaid to be aſſumed in his time: That Name more ancient.*

X. *Advantages to the Church expected from uniting ſeveral Kingdoms, defeated by the Depredations of the* Danes; *import of ſeveral Councils.*

XI. *Several Charters ſaid to be granted about this time to the Religious, particularly to the Monaſteries of* Crowland *and* Peterborough: *Several of the Biſhops and Clergy take Arms to oppoſe the* Danes.

XII. *King* Ethelwulf *goes to* Rome, *enlarges the grant of* Peter-Pence: *This improved, in after-times, to a great Revenue: Became a Grievance, and was complained of by the* Engliſh *Parliaments.*

XIII. Alfred, *a younger Son of* Ethelwulf, *ſaid to be anointed King at* Rome: *The ground thereof.*

XIV. *Anointing a Ceremony uſed at Confirmation: This probably the occaſion of what is ſaid of the anointing* Alfred *King.*

Anno 817.

SECT. I. THE third Canon of the foreſaid Council ſeems to be taken from the ſecond Canon of the Council of *Cloveſhoe*, held under *Cuthbert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 747, by which that Council, in oppoſition to the contrary Doctrine of *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, aſſerted the Unity of the Catholick Church to conſiſt in an agreement of Chriſtians in the ſame Faith, Hope, and Charity, and in Prayers, and good Offices for the Salvation of each other; and not in an Unity with the Church of *Rome*, or in any ſubmiſſion to the Biſhops thereof, as *Boniface* pretended.

Whether it was the late Controverſy, occaſioned by the diviſion of the Province of *Canterbury*, that gave occaſion to revive this Canon; or upon what other views this Council acted therein, is not to be determined at this diſtance; but this Canon compared with the Eleventh, is enough to ſhew, that the ſenſe of the *Engliſh*

Engliſh Church, with reſpect to the Unity of the Catholick Church, and the freedom and independance of the Church of *England*, was ſtill the ſame as in the 'foreſaid Council of *Cloveſhoe*; for when they ſpeak of the Catholick Church, and the government thereof, in the third Canon, they aſſert *CHRIST* the Head thereof; and that without flattery or preference of one Biſhop to another, Biſhops were all Fellow-Servants, and found the Unity of Chriſtians, in their Union with *Chriſt* the Head of his Church: And upon this ground they affirm, that the Biſhops of the Catholick Church have one and the ſame Authority derived to them from *CHRIST*; and, as ſuch, are Fellow-Servants and Fellow-Labourers, which doubtleſs they would not have affirmed, if they had been acquainted with any diſtinct or ſuperior degree of Power over the Catholick Church, given by *CHRIST* to St. *Peter*, or the Biſhops of *Rome*; or, indeed, if they had eſteemed themſelves within the Bounds of the *Roman* Patriarchate.

Ut ſit omnium una voluntas in opere, & ſermone, vel in judicio, ſine cujuſquam adulatione *&* *diſceptatione, quia unius miniſterii ſumus conſervi, unius fabricationis cooperatores, unius corporis membra, cujus caput eſt Chriſtus.* Can. 3. Concil. Britan. Vol. 1. pag. 328.

For this was the Language of St. *Cyprian*, and other Archbiſhops of *Carthage*, and Primates of *Africa*; of the Churches of *Cyprus* and *Conſtance*, whoſe Primates and Metropolitans are ſo well known in Antiquity by the Title of Αὐτοκέφαλοι, or Self-heads, as not being ſubject to any Patriarch; and though before this time there had been ſome attempts to enlarge the *Roman* Patriarchate, and extend it to *Britain* and *Gaul*, there is no reaſon to doubt, but as well the *Engliſh* as the *French* Biſhops did yet eſteem themſelves canonically ſubject only to their own Metropolitans; and therefore we muſt not wonder if their Language be anſwerable to their Sentiments, and the Right the Council of *Epheſus* had ſo long before veſted in ſuch Metropolitans, as were not within the known Bounds of any of the five Patriarchates; and this was undoubtedly the caſe of *Britain* at the time of that Council.

SECT. II. And as this Council thus determines of the Character and interior Power of Biſhops, with reſpect to the Catholick Church; ſo when they ſpeak of the external Juriſdiction and Authority of Biſhops, with reſpect to one another, or conſidered as united into National *Anno* 817.

tional Churches, they do not go abroad to any Foreign Biſhop, but declare, that it was not lawful for any Biſhop to intermeddle in the Affairs of any Dioceſs but his own, except to the Archbiſhop, becauſe he was the Head of them; and that that ambiguous Word might not leave Men in the dark, as to what they meant by ſaying, that the Archbiſhop was the Head of the Biſhops, in the later end of the ſame Canon they aſcribe to the Archbiſhop the Power of judging finally of all Offences againſt the Canon, where the Offenders refus'd to ſubmit to the deciſion of their own Dioceſans.

Ut nulli Epiſcoporum liceat alteriùs Parochiam invadere vel etiam aliquid alterius Miniſterii ad ſe pertrahere, in aliqua conſecratione vel Eccleſiarum, vel Presbyterorum, Diaconorumque, niſi ſolus Archiepiſcopus quia caput eſt ſuorum Epiſcoporum. Can. 11. Concil. Britan. Vol. 1. p. 331.

And this was no more than the twenty fifth Canon of the Council of *Cloveſhoe*, about threeſcore Years before, had declared the Right of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; (*a*) and far was the Church of *England* from Novelty or Innovation in giving this Title of Head to their Metropolitans; for that Title is as ancient as that Collection which paſſes under the Name of the Apoſtolick Canons; and it is well obſerved by a very Learned and Judicious Antiquary, (*b*) that the thirty fourth of the Apoſtolick Canons, wherein it is decreed, That the firſt or chief Biſhop of every Nation, ſhould be eſteemed as the Head of the Biſhops of that Church, is by the Council of *Antioch* applied to Metropolitans; and the Power here aſcribed to the Archbiſhop is leſs ſubject to diſpute, than the Title the *Engliſh* Synod beſtows upon him, being no other than what is founded in the Canons of the Catholick Church, and juſtified by the general undoubted practice thereof.

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 251.

(*b*) Du Pin *Diſſert. de Antiq. Eccleſ. Diſciplin. p.* 4.

Ut Epiſcopi unius cujuſque gentis agnoſcant eum qui in eis primus eſt, & exiſtiment ut caput.

And in the *African* Church, where their Metropolitans retained the ancient Title of *Primæ Sedis Epiſcopi*, the Biſhops of the firſt See (*c*); and this Honour was ambulatory (*Carthage* only excepted, the Biſhop whereof was the Patriarch or Primate of *Africa*,) and not fix'd to any See (*d*); yet from the Canons and conſtant practice of that Church it appears, that the Authority of thoſe Prelates in their Synods was ever eſteemed final (*e*); and, in ſhort, the ſame that the Church of *England* aſcribed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

(*c*) *Concil. Tom.* 2. *Col.* 781. *Ed.* Surii.

(*d*) Du Pin. *Diſſertat. de Antiq. Eccleſ. Diſciplin. p.* 25.

(*e*) Ibid.

But

But whilſt the Church of *England* did thus, upon all occaſions, aſſert the Authority of its own Biſhops and Canons, there is not ſo much as one Canon, at leaſt that I have met with, from the firſt planting of Chriſtianity amongſt the *Engliſh* till this time, that reſerves any one caſe to the Judgment of the Biſhops of *Rome*, or ſo much as takes notice of any Authority they had over the *Engliſh* Church; but, on the contrary, the conſtant conduct of the *Engliſh* Biſhops was ſuch, as ſhews, they ever eſteemed the *Engliſh* a free and independant Church, and under no obligations to the Biſhops of *Rome*, but ſuch as Gratitude, Affection, and an Opinion of the Wiſdom and Holineſs of thoſe Prelates laid upon them.

SECT. III. Before I end my Reflections on this Council, I cannot omit to obſerve the direction the ſecond Canon gives for the Conſecration of Churches, *viz.* that the new Church being firſt ſprinkled with Holy-Water, and the other Rites appointed by the Liturgy performed, the Euchariſt ſhould then be conſecrated by the Biſhops, and be laid up in a Coffer or Cheſt in the Church amongſt the other Reliques; and if other Reliques cannot be had, this, ſays this Canon, may profit much, being the Body and Blood of our Lord *JESUS CHRIST*: That Canon further injoins, that the Biſhop ſhould cauſe the Picture of the Saint to whom the Church or Altar was dedicated, to be drawn upon the Wall of the Church, or on a Table, or upon the Altars. This Canon may poſſibly give us ſome light into the preſent ſenſe of the *Engliſh* Church, of the Sacrament, and uſe of Images; for as the ancient Name of the Euchariſt is here given to the Holy Sacrament, ſo the application of the Names of the Body and Blood of *CHRIST* to the different Elements, not only ſhews, that the uſe of the Sacrament in both kinds was yet continued; but that they were unacquainted with the late Doctrines of Tranſubſtantiation. *Anno* 817.

For certainly they would not have ſpoke of the Body and Blood as things diſtinct and ſeparate, and repreſented by different Elements, if they had known any thing of the Doctrine of Concomitancy, or the conſequences of that change in the Elements, that have of late been pretended; much leſs would they have ſpoken of the Holy Elements as of an inferior ſort of Reliques,

liques, and have given them place accordingly, if they had believed that the Element which they appointed to be depoſited in a Cheſt amongſt their Reliques, was the ſame Body that was glorified in Heaven.

Anno 817. SECT. IV. The other part of the Canon ſeems to be much the ſame with the Inſtructions given by *Gregory* (*a*) to *Auſtin*, for the conſecration of the *Pagan* Temples, which he appointed ſhould not be demoliſhed, but ſprinkled with Holy Water, and that the Reliques of the Saints to whom it was dedicated, ſhould be depoſited therein: The Direction of this Canon is much the ſame; but the Intimation therein, that in caſe they had no other Reliques, that they ſhould then depoſite the Holy Elements, ſhews, that the *Engliſh* Church yet obſerved the Direction of *Gregory the Great*, and had not received the late Doctrine of the ſecond Council of *Nice*, which not only pronounced the conſecration of Churches void, if there were no Reliques depoſited therein, but pronounced the Biſhop depoſed, which conſecrated a Church without them. The later part of the Canon, if I miſtake not the ſenſe of it, ſeems no leſs to agree with the Sentiments of St. *Gregory*, than to differ from the late Doctrine of *Nice* in the point of Images.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 30.

For it ſeems to be capable of no other meaning, than to injoin every Biſhop, on the conſecration of a new Church, to cauſe the Picture of the Saint to which the Church or the Altar was dedicated, to be drawn upon the Wall of the Church, or on a Table or Board, or on the Altars. But if this be to be underſtood of writing the Name of the Saint on the Wall of the Church, or on the Altar, or entring an Account thereof in the Regiſter, as the words may poſſibly be interpreted, the practice of the *Engliſh* Church will be ſtill more remote from the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*.

Seu etiam præcipimus unicuique Epiſcopo, ut habeat depictum in pariete Oratorii, aut in tabula, vel etiam in altaribus, quibus Sanctis ſint utraque dedicata. Can. 4.

Anno 817. SECT. V. Which way ſoever this Canon be underſtood, it is certain it will not amount to a Command to ſet up the Image of the Saint in the new Church, much leſs to worſhip it, unleſs there be weight in the Argument of *Baronius* (*b*), to prove the Antiquity of Image-Worſhip in the *Engliſh* Church; for that Learned Prelate being unwilling to own, that the introducing of

(*b*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 714. *A. Tom.* 8.

of Images into the *Engliſh* Churches, was owing to the Viſions of *Egwin*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, undertakes to prove the introducing thereof by *Auſtin* the Monk; and this from the Authority of *Bede*, becauſe that Hiſtorian thus relates the Proceſſion of *Auſtin* and his Company, when they firſt came to the preſence of *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, they came, ſaith he, *carrying a ſilver Croſs for a Banner, and the Picture of our Lord and Saviour painted upon a Board.*

Crucem pro vexillo ferentes & imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam. *Bed. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 1. cap. 25.*

There is no doubt to be made, but the word *Imago* ſignifies ſuch reſemblance of a Man as, in proper ſpeaking, is called an Image; but it is as evident, it alſo ſignifies other ſimilitudes or repreſentations of Perſons or Things; and being here joined with *depicta in tabula*, can ſignify nothing elſe but a Picture of *CHRIST*. Nor is *Bede* only followed herein by the Learned Author of the Preſent State of the *Greek* Church, who uſes the ſame words (*a*) to ſignify the Pictures in uſe in that Church, but he has the Authority and Example of *Tully* on his ſide (*b*); and though an Image carved, or graven, or caſt, are Terms well known, an Image drawn, or painted on a Board, is a new Species of Images, for the diſcovery whereof the World is intirely indebted to this Great Man, and this Occaſion; ſo that if the Words of *Bede* had been clear, as to the Worſhip of the thing under debate, it might poſſibly ſerve as an Argument for the corrupt practice of worſhipping Pictures, in uſe about this time amongſt ſome *Eaſtern* Nations, but not prove the Antiquity of Image-Worſhip, nor juſtify that practice thereof further than as grounded upon the ſame reaſon.

(*a*) *Græcæ Eccleſ. Stat. Epiſt. pag.* 137.

(*b*) *Epiſt.* 68.

SECT. VI. But if it had been true that *Auſtin* had carried an Image of *CHRIST* along with him upon that occaſion, unleſs a Man was well prepared beforehand, one would have much ado to think that a good Argument to prove the Worſhip of Images in the *Engliſh* Church as ancient as their Chriſtianity; and indeed if the Cauſe had not been reduced to the laſt extremity, ſo great a Man could never have fixed upon a reaſon ſo foreign to his purpoſe; eſpecially when *Gregory the Great*, who ſent *Auſtin* into *England*, expreſly declares againſt the Worſhip of Images as Idolatry (*c*); and *Bede* nei-

Anno 817.

(*c*) Gregor. *Epiſt. Lib.* 9. *Epiſt.* 9.

neither here nor any where elſe, makes mention of any ſuch Worſhip. And Mr. *Creſſey*, though he ſeems to have a Paſſion for the Antiquity of Image-Worſhip, equal to that of *Baronius*; and for fear that pretence might loſe any thing by omitting the word *Image*, renders this paſſage of *Bede*, carrying an Image pictur'd upon a Board, yet has not courage enough to come up to the ſanguine Argument of *Baronius*.

But if *Bede* may be allowed to explain himſelf, he will put the whole Matter paſt diſpute, and, at once, ſhew what he means by *Imago depicta*, and what Honour the Church of *England* paid to it; for in the Life of *Benedict*, Founder of the Monaſtery of *Girwy*, or *Jarrow*, he ſaith of *Benedict*, that at his return from *Rome*, He brought with him Pictures of the Holy Images, to adorn the Church of Saint *Peter*, which he had built, *viz.* the Picture of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, and of the twelve Apoſtles, with which having made a Partition of Boards, from Wall to Wall, he might adorn the Middle and Roof of the ſame Church; Pictures of the Evangelick Story, with which he might adorn the South Wall of his Church; and Pictures of the Apocalyps and Viſions of St. *John*, to beautifie thoſe on the North, that all thoſe who entred into that Church, though unlearned, which way ſoever they turned themſelves, might behold the lovely aſpect of *CHRIST* and his Saints, or thereby be brought to call to mind the Incarnation of our Bleſſed Lord, and by placing before their Eyes the terror of the final Judgment, remember more ſeriouſly and ſtrictly to examine themſelves.

Picturas imaginum ſanctorum quas ad ornandam Eccleſiam beati Petri Apoſtoli, quam conſtruxerat, detulit: Imaginem videlicet beatæ Dei genetricis ſemper virginis ſimul & duodecim Apoſtolorum quibus mediam & ejuſdem Eccleſiæ teſtudinem, ducto à pariete ad parietem tabulato præcingeret, imagines Evangelicæ Hiſtoriæ quibus auſtralem Eccleſiæ parietem decoraret, imagines viſionum Apocalypſis beati Johannis, quibus ſeptentrionalem æque parietem ornaret, quatenus intrantes Eccleſiam omnes etiam literarum ignari, quaqua verſum intenderent, vel ſemper amabilem Chriſti, ſanctorumque ejus, quamvis imagine contemplarentur aſpectum; vel Dominicæ incarnationis gratiam vigilantiore mente, recolerent, vel extremi diſcrimen examinis quaſi coram oculis habentes; diſtrictius ſeipſi examinare meminiſſent. Bedæ Hiſtor. Abbatum Wiremuth, &c. Ed. Lond. p. 226.

This tranſaction of *Benedict* paſſed about the Year ſix hundred and eighty, which was near an hundred Years after the coming of *Auſtin*; but *Bede*'s Hiſtory of the Lives of the Abbots of *Jarrow* and *Wiremouth*, was not wrote till the beginning of the following Century; and yet, even then, we hear of no other uſe of the Images *Baronius* contends ſo earneſtly for, but for Ornament, Hiſtory, and Inſtruction; whereas there is nothing to be

be ſaid for worſhipping the Images of *CHRIST* and his Saints, which will not equally juſtify the worſhip of their Pictures; nor is that the only Inſtance *Bede* gives of this kind; but reſuming his Account of the 'foreſaid Benefaction of *Benedict* to the Church of *Jarrow*, he ſaith, he hung it round with Pictures of the Sacred Story, for ſo he explains himſelf, and calls thoſe Pictures, which, in the words immediate preceding, he terms Images; and deſcribing the Benefaction of that Abbot to the Monaſtery of *Wiremouth*, he ſaith, gave ſeveral Pictures for the adorning the Church of St. *Paul* at *Wiremouth*, amongſt which were the Pictures of *Iſaac* carrying the Wood with which he was to be ſacrificed; of *CHRIST* bearing his Croſs, and of the Serpent lifted up by *Moſes* in the Wilderneſs; but if *Bede*'s promiſcuous uſe of the words *Images* and *Pictures* could afford ground enough for a Miſtake, it is impoſſible to miſtake the Account he gives of the uſe they were intended for; for whether he mean Images or Pictures, it is certain he ſays they were intended to adorn the Churches and Monaſteries to which they were given.

Sed non minori, ſicut & prius ſanctarum imaginum munere ditatus, nam & tunc dominicæ hiſtoriæ picturas quibus totam beatæ Dei genetricis quam in Monaſterio majore fecerat Eccleſiam in giro coronaret. Bedæ Hiſtor. Abbatum Wiremouth, &c. Ed. Lond. pag. 229.

In ſhort, if we judge of the Uſages introduced by *Auſtin*, by the Doctrine of *Gregory*, and compare the Paſſages of *Bede* with the words of this Canon, explain'd by the oppoſition the Church of *England* ſo lately made to the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, there appears juſt ground to conclude, that the Worſhip of Images was ſo far from being taught by *Auſtin*, or received by the *Engliſh* Church in his time, that it ſeems very evident from this Canon, that the Images of Saints were not ſo much as introduced into Churches at this time, by any authoritative act of the Church of *England*; for, doubtleſs, if this had been a received Practice at this time, the Canon, inſtead of injoining the picturing of the Saint, would have required the ſetting up of his Image, as it was generally done in after-times, when that ſort of Worſhip was received: And indeed, *Bede*'s Account of *Benedict*, as it ſeems the beſt Comment on this Canon, ſo it is the beſt Account our Hiſtory affords of the Original and Antiquity of this Uſage of the Engliſh Church, in ſetting up the Pictures

Pictures of the Saints, and Repreſentations of the Sacred Story.

Anno 817. SECT. VII. The fifth Canon, which forbids the admiſſion of any of the *Scotch* Clergy to perform any Offices of their Miniſtry in *England*, ſhews, that the old Controverſy, and long Oppoſition they made to the Rites of the *Roman* Church, were not yet quite forgotten. The eighth Canon, by diſtinguiſhing ſuch Religious Foundations as were erected with the approbation of the Biſhop of the reſpective Dioceſs, and had receiv'd any Monaſtick Rule, or whoſe Abbots or Abbeſſes had received Epiſcopal Benediction from other Religious Foundations, which had none of theſe diſtinguiſhing Marks, ſhews us, that theſe Collegiate Foundations mentioned by *Bede* (*a*), wherein ſeveral Perſons, both Men and Women, lived together in a Religious manner, but not tied to any Monaſtick Rules, nor under any Vows of Celibacy, were continued to this time.

(*a*) Bed. *Epiſt. ad* Egbert. *pag.* 260.

Anno 817. Theſe Societies are diſtinguiſhed by the Names of Secular Monaſteries in the fifth Canon of the Council of *Cloveſhoe*, in the Year 747. And the Capitulars of *Charles the Great* ſhew, that the Engliſh were not ſingular in this practice, for there we find frequent mention of ſuch Societies, not long before this time, and above three hundred Years after the ſecond Council of *Lateran*, under *Innocent* the Second (*b*), in the Year 1139, takes notice of a ſort of Nuns who lived in their own Houſes, and kept Hoſpitality, and received Strangers of all ſorts, and yet, tho' called Nuns, neither obſerved the Rules of St. *Benedict*, St. *Baſil*, or St. *Auſtin*.

(*b*) *Concil. Tom.* 10. *Can.* 25. *Ed.* Labb.

This was ſo common a practice in *England*, in the preceding Age, and ſo many of the better ſort of the Engliſh having purchaſed Lands from their Kings, and obtained exemptions from Secular Services, turned their Houſes into ſuch a ſort of Monaſteries, and received ſo many Perſons therein, as *Bede* apprehended would in time prove a miſchief to the State (*c*); and this might poſſibly give occaſion to the Writer of St. *Dunſtan's* Life to affirm, that the Rules of Monaſtick Life were not received in *England* till he came to the See of *Canterbury* (*d*); but though that Author's Zeal for the Honour of *Dunſtan*, has, I think, led him into a Miſtake, and it ſeems paſt a doubt, that the *Benedictine* Rule was brought

(*c*) Bed. *Epiſt. ad* Egbert. *pag.* 260.

(*d*) *Angl. Sac. Par.* 2. *p.* 91.

brought into *England*, by *Wilfrid*, Biſhop of *York*, above an Age before *Dunſtan* was born; yet the 'foreſaid Account of *Bede* makes it no leſs plain, that the claim of the modern *Benedictines* to all the ancient Monaſteries of *England*, is no better founded than the pretence of the 'foreſaid Writer.

SECT. VIII. Theſe Reflections on the ancient ſtate of the Weſtern Monaſteries, however they may for the preſent break the view of our Story, yet by giving a juſt Idea of the primitive State of thoſe Societies, will give light to the Difficulties which perplex that part of our Hiſtory, and at once ſhew us the Reaſon and Antiquity of the diſtinction betwixt Secular and Regular Monaſteries, and the true ground of the Controverſy betwixt them, which gave ſo much trouble to the ſucceeding Age; whereas thoſe who judge of theſe Societies by the later Inſtitutions, are apt to think that the Secular Canons had departed from their firſt Inſtitution, when in truth the Monks were the Invaders, and the Secular Canons had the intention of their Founders, and Uſage as ancient as thoſe Foundations, and the firſt ſettlement of Chriſtianity amongſt the Engliſh on their ſide. *Anno* 817.

The eleventh Canon uſes the word *Parochia*, in the ſame ſenſe that the ſeventh does the word *Dioceſis*, to ſignify a Dioceſs, or the proper Diſtrict of a Biſhop, and limits the ſtanding and certain Offices of thoſe who have ſince been diſtinguiſh'd by the Title of Parochial Clergy, to the adminiſtration of Baptiſm and viſiting the Sick, but requires they ſhould exerciſe no other Offices of their Holy Function, but where they had the expreſs allowance and direction of their reſpective Biſhops; and the word *Eccleſia*, or Church, is ſo frequently uſed in this Council (*a*), in the Councils of *Bacanceld* (*b*), the Decree of *Ethelard*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (*c*), and generally in the Writers of this Age, to ſignify a Monaſtery, and ſo little mention made of the Parochial Clergy, that whatever is ſaid of *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſettling of Pariſhes, upon the beſt Judgment one can make of a thing ſo much in the dark, it ſeems very probable, that the Inſtitutions of this kind were yet but very few, that the Duty of thoſe to whoſe care theſe Churches were committed, ſettled by Canon, lay in a *Anno* 823.

(*a*) *Can.* 7. 10. 11.
(*b*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 317.
(*d*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 324.

little compaſs, and their Rights in leſs; and except Houſes for their Habitation, and ſuch Lands as by the Founders of Churches were ſettled on the firſt founding thereof; that they yet had no ſettled and diſtinct Proviſion ſecured to them by Law, but were under the common eſtabliſhment of the Church; and had ſuch Diſtricts, ſuch meaſures of Duty, and ſuch Proviſion for their Subſiſtance as their Biſhops directed and aſſigned them; and that their Diſtrict, the meaſure of their Duty, and their Rights, were ſtraitened or enlarged as their reſpective Biſhops judged moſt for the Honour of God, and beſt ſuited to the ſufficiency and merit of thoſe they intruſted.

At leaſt it does not appear that the primitive Uſage, ſettled by *Auſtin*, was yet changed; but, on the contrary, it ſeems highly probable, that what *Bede* calls the Tribute paid to Biſhops (*a*), and what the *Saxon* Tranſlation thereof renders the Church Shot or Portion, was not the Property of the Biſhops alone, but the common Patrimony of the Church, though diſpenſed by their order and appointment; and that they yet continued to diſpoſe the Donations and Offerings which were made to any of the Churches within their Dioceſs.

(*a*) Bed. *Epiſt. ad* Egbert. *pag.* 256.

Anno 823. SECT. IX. The ſame wiſe Providence which governs and diſpoſes all the reſt of the Creation, ſets bounds to the Glory and Duration of States and Kingdoms, and yet the fall and ruine, as well as the riſe of States and Governments, are often kept as Secrets in his hands. One cannot ſay this was altogether the ſtate of the *Engliſh* Nation at this time; for the Diviſions and Wars in the Heptarchy had opened a way to the erecting of an *Engliſh* Monarchy, yet the ſuddenneſs of the Steps, and haſty movements of this change, ſeem no other way to be accounted for but by his good pleaſure, who diſpoſes of States and Kingdoms; and who, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, favoured the Arms of *Egbert*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*. The Kings of the *Mercians* had, for the greateſt part of an Age, made a great Figure, had conquered the Countries of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and made the Kings of the *Eaſt-Angles* a ſort of Tributaries to them.

But about this time, by one ſurpriſing Blow, Providence opened a way to the eſtabliſhing an *Engliſh* Monarchy,

narchy, in the Line of the *Weſt-Saxons*: *Egbert* was at this time King of that People, and had been ſo for about four and twenty Years; and, by his wiſe Conduct, and the Succeſs God gave to his Arms, had raiſed himſelf to ſuch height, that *Beornwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, his only Rival in Power, could not but take Umbrage at the greatneſs of that Prince; and this Jealouſy ſoon produced a War, and this Year theſe Rivals met in Battel, wherein Providence determined on the ſide of *Egbert*, for *Beornwulf* was overcome, and his Army beaten (*a*).

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 823.

This ſo raiſed the Reputation of the Conqueror, that this Succeſs did in a great meaſure determine the Fate of the whole Engliſh Nation; for the *Mercians* being beaten, the Kingdoms of *Kent*, of the *Eaſt* and *South-Saxons*, preſently yielded themſelves to the Conqueror (*b*); and the ſame Year the Tributary King of the *Eaſt-Angles* withdrew from the King of the *Mercians*, and put himſelf and Kingdom under the protection of *Egbert* (*c*): And about three or four Years after he ſubdued the Kingdoms of *Mercia* and *Northumberland* (*d*). Thus did he, in the compaſs of a very few Years, overrun the Heptarchy, and united the whole *Engliſh* Nation under his Government, and changed the ancient Stile, and cauſed the Name of *England* to be given to his Dominions, and himſelf to be proclaim'd King thereof; yet, whilſt he took this Title to himſelf, he ſuffered ſeveral of the conquered Kingdoms to retain their ancient Names, and ſome of the Princes thereof to continue the Title of Kings, but as Tributaries under him.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 827.

But though it be a receiv'd Opinion, that King *Egbert* firſt gave the Name of *England* to the Dominions of the *Saxons*, within the Britiſh Iſle, yet one cannot forbear to think, that this Name was much ancienter, and rather the product of Time, than owing to any Law, or any appointment of this Prince; and though there is no reaſon to doubt, but to diſtinguiſh it from the firſt Seat of the *Saxons*, their Dominions in this Iſland are frequently called by the Name of the *Tranſmarine-Saxony*, as well as by the more ancient Name of *Britain*; yet in the earlieſt and moſt unqueſtion'd Monuments we have, the Name of *England* frequently occurs above two hundred Years before the eſtabliſhing the Monarchy under

under *Egbert*; and the Name of the Engliſh is frequently uſed to ſignify the whole People by whom the *Britons* were diſpoſſeſſed. Thus *Gregory the Great*, in ſeveral of his Epiſtles wrote upon the occaſion of their Converſion, uſes no other ſtile but of *Gens Anglorum*, the Engliſh Nation: And in his Anſwer to the eighth Queſtion of *Auſtin*, he uſes the word *Anglia* to ſignify their Country (*a*). And *Bede* frequently uſes the Name of *Engliſh* to ſignify the People, and *England* for the place of their Abode: And ſo does the *Saxon* Chronicle. (*b*) And in the Year 616, the Church planted in this Iſland is ſtiled by that Chronicle the *Church of England*; and the *Church of the Engliſh* is frequently to be met in the Epiſtles of *Gregory*; but whatever the effects thereof were in the Form and Stile of the Civil Government, 'tis certain there was a great Revolution about this time.

(*a*) Gregorii *Opera. Ed.* Paris. *fol.*464.

(*b*) *Chron. Saxon. Annis* 474, 696. 697.

Annis 824. 825. 826. SECT. X. And this change in the State might, one would think, by uniting the Biſhops and Clergy, in one common Civil Intereſt, have wrought the good Effects that could not have been expected whilſt the different Intereſts of the ſeveral Princes they lived under, hindred them from uniting in the ſame common Meaſures; but that Wiſdom whoſe ways are Secret and unaccountable, inſtead of the good effects the Church and Nation might have expected from this Union, was pleaſed to break the Hopes, and fruſtrate all the Expectations of this kind, and ſuffer both the Church and State to be extreamly afflicted, and harraſſed by continual Depredations from a Northern People, who, in our Hiſtories, commonly paſs under the Name of *Danes*, as they do in the *French* Hiſtorians, by the general Name of *Normans*; theſe were a People inhabiting about the *Baltick* Sea, as the *Saxons* and *Franks* originally were; and as they in time gained a Settlement in *Neuſtria* in *France*, to which they gave the Name of *Normandy*, ſo they never totally gave up their Attempts, and footing they gained in *England*, till theſe Kingdoms came, in time, intirely into the poſſeſſion of their Deſcendants the *Normans*.

The Depredations of the *Danes* were ſo frequent, ſudden, and accompanied with ſuch Cruelty and Barbarities, that that they mightily harraſſed the Forces, and broke the Peace of the new Monarch, and gave him trouble through all the remainder of his Reign, to de-

fend

ſend the Countries which coſt him ſo much Labour and Blood to acquire; and as our Hiſtorians of the State afford us little elſe during the ſole Reign of *Egbert*, but various Scenes of Cruelty, Havock, and Devaſtations, occaſioned by the Piracy, frequent Deſcents, and Ravages of the *Danes*; ſo thoſe of the Church are moſt of a piece, and afford us ſcarce any other Views but of ruin'd Monaſteries, Churches demoliſhed, Diſcipline neglected, except ſome Inſtances of the Edowments and Immunities ſaid to be granted to the Clergy and Religious Houſes, and of Councils ſaid to be held for that purpoſe.

Of this kind we have the Copies of a Council ſaid to be held at *Cloveſhoe* under *Beornwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Wulfred*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 822, wherein ſome Lands taken from the Archbiſhoprick are ſaid to be reſtored (*a*). Another we have, ſaid to be held at the ſame place, in the Year 824, to determine a diſpute betwixt *Hearbert*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and the Monks of *Barclay* (*b*). And in the Year 833 we hear of a National Council, ſaid to be held in *London*, wherein mighty Privileges are granted to the Monaſtery of *Crowland*, and particularly that of Sanctuary and Protection to ſuch Criminals as ſhall fly thither, and put themſelves under the Protection of St. *Guthlac* (*c*), and this is ſaid to be owing to the favour of *Witlaf*, a Tributary King of *Mercia*. Such another Council we are told was held at *Kingſtone*, in the Year 838, under *Egbert*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, as he is there ſtiled, and *Celnoth*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. (*e*)

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 332.

(*b*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 334.

(*d*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 336.

(*e*) Ibid.

SECT. XI. But however nice and exact the Charters to which we owe theſe Accounts ſeem to be, the *Saxon* Chronicle, which ſeldom fails where the Intereſt of the Monaſticks is concerned, has no mention of any one of theſe Councils; and indeed the Charters themſelves ſeem ſo ill to agree with the Names and Dates affixed to them, and have ſo much of the Air of after Ages, that as we owe the Copies of them to the Monaſticks, one can have no great degrees of aſſurance, that the Originals had not their beginning from them too; but if we may rely upon theſe Authorities for the *Kingſtone* Council in the Year 838, and that this was held under *Egbert*, we muſt ſet aſide the Authority of the *Saxon* Chronicle, which fixes the Death of *Egbert*, and the

Anno 837.

Succeſſion of his Son two Years before: Thus much is certain, and agreed upon, that *Æthelwulf* ſucceeded *Egbert*, a Prince diſpoſed to Study and Retirement, and it may be much better fitted for the Church than the Crown, eſpecially in a new and unſettled Kingdom, and harraſſed with the frequent Ravages of a bold and mercileſs Enemy.

Anno 838. The Year preceding the *Danes* made Deſcents in *Hampſhire* and *Dorſetſhire* (*a*), and the oppoſition they received coſt a great deal of Blood: And this Year they did the like in *Lincolnſhire*, *Norfolk*, and *Kent* (*b*). And two Years after they landed again in the *Weſt* of *England*, and though they were generally beaten, yet never failed, when ever they landed, to leave behind them the Marks of Cruelty and Inhumanity; they raſed Monaſteries and Towns, and made no diſtinction of Age, or Sex, or Characters; and inſtead of being diſcouraged with the brave oppoſition they met with, their Loſſes redoubled their Fury, and their Numbers; and therefore, whereas we hear of their coming at firſt in three Ships only, afterwards of thirty five: In the Year 851 they returned with a Fleet of three hundred Sail, and an Army ſo well prepared, that they came up the *Thames*, took *Canterbury* and *London*, and beat the Army of King *Æthelwulf* (*c*).

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 837.

(*b*) *Chron. Saxon. Anno* 838.

Anno 851.

(*c*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 851.

During the heat of this War, for ſo that which at firſt merited the Name of Piracy, is now to be called, we hear nothing of the Clergy, thoſe few excepted, who were forced to quit the proper Offices of their Holy Function, and apply themſelves to the Weapons of another Warfare to defend their Country; amongſt whom, *Alſtan*, Biſhop of *Sherborn*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by appearing at the Head of the Forces which oppoſed the *Danes* (*d*); and yet in the midſt of this Noiſe, and the Confuſion and Conſternation the Succeſſes of the *Danes* ſpread over the whole Nation, we are told of a great Council held the ſame Year at *Kingbury*, under *Bertulph*, a Tributary King of the *Mercians*, and mighty Privileges therein granted to the Monaſtery of *Crowland*, a Copy whereof is delivered to Poſterity, ſubſcribed by *Celnoth*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſix other Biſhops, (*e*) whereof *Alſtan*, Biſhop of *Sherborn*, and one of the Generals of King *Æthulwulf*, is one.

(*d*) *Chron. Sax. An.* 844.

(*e*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 344.

And

And that the Glories of that Foundation might be all of a piece, *Ingulphus* (*a*) adds, that this Charter was accompanied with ſuch vaſt concourſes of People, who came in Pilgrimage to pay their Devotions at the Tomb of St. *Guthlack*, that ſometimes above a hundred Parliticks were there cured in a Day; and the following Year the Monks of *Peterborough* aſſembled, the ſame Prince, the Archbiſhop, and moſt of the ſame Biſhops, to be Witneſſes to a Leaſe they Lett of the Mannor of *Sempringham* (*b*); if theſe things were not capable of being accounted for in another way, one ſhould not know what credit to give to the melancholly Accounts our Hiſtories are ſo full of at this time.

(*a*) Ingulphi *Hiſt. Rerum Anglicar. Scriptor. Tom. 1. pag.* 16.

(*b*) *Chron. Sax. An.* 852.

SECT. XII. Nor are theſe the only Difficulties that lie heavy upon a Reader, but whilſt Miſery thus covered the Face of his Kingdom, and his Preſence ſeems infinitely neceſſary at home, *Polidore Virgil* finds, or makes an Errand to *Rome* for King *Æthelwulf*, who, as this Writer tells us, went to *Rome* in the Year 847; and, in imitation of the Example of *Ina*, granted a new Tribute to the Biſhops thereof, out of all thoſe Countries which his Father King *Egbert* had added to his Dominions: This, as the ſame Writer ſaith, was a Peny a Houſe, for every Houſe inhabited by ſuch Perſons as had an yearly Income of Thirty-Pence, or had more Houſes than thoſe which they themſelves inhabited (*c*); and the ſame Year, as we are told by the ſame Author, that Prince rebuilt the Engliſh School at *Rome*, which had been deſtroyed not long before by Fire. *Florentius* places this Journey, and this Affair, ten Years later, and reduces the Charity of that Prince to a ſet Sum of three hundred Mancuſes.

Anno 852.

(*c*) Pol. Virgil. *Lib.* 5. *pag.* 96.

Aſſerius fixes this Journey in the Year 855 (*d*), but agrees with *Florentius* in his Account of this Princes Benefaction, and ſaith, he granted a yearly Penſion of three hundred Mancuſes to the Biſhops of *Rome*, in Honour of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; and indeed this was a great and very generous Charity, if we may rely on the Authority of the very Learned and Judicious Author of the *Theſaurus Septentrionalis*, who makes the *Saxon* Mancuſe to be of equal value with three Half Crowns of the Engliſh Coin (*e*): That of *Offa*'s was ſtill greater, being three hundred ſixty and five Mancuſes; and beſides

(*d*) Aſſerii *Annal. An.* 855

(*e*) *Diſſertatio Epiſtolar. pag.* 109.

ſides this we hear of no other Annual Benefaction given by either of theſe Princes; ſo that it ſeems very likely, that this Charity, which from the manner of raiſing, and time of payment, did, in time, acquire the Name of *Peter-Pence*, was, as the Learned *Spelman* conjectures, originally the ſame that is here mentioned (*a*); and that the confirming of the ſame Grant, or regranting the ſame thing by ſucceeding Princes, a thing very common in Grants from the Crown, gave occaſion to the confuſion of our Hiſtorians, in aſcribing this Benefaction, ſome to one Prince, and ſome to another. And it ſeems probable, that the Opinion of ſome of our Hiſtorians, that this was not the ſame Benefaction with the *Peter-Pence*, had the ſame beginning.

(*a*) J. Spelm. *Vit.* Ælfred. *Lib.* 1. *p.* 41.

And the Argument of the Learned Annotators on the Life of King *Ælfred*, wrote by Mr. *Spelman*, that the three hundred Mancuſes, granted to the Biſhops of *Rome*, could not be the ſame Donation that was afterwards known by the Name of *Peter-Pence*, becauſe the *Peter-Pence* amounted to a greater Summ, (*b*) will appear of no great moment, when it ſhall be conſidered, that the Statute of *Carliſle*, in the Year thirteen hundred, declares, that Payment was at this time ſo much greater than what had been originally granted to the See of *Rome*, that the Addition is there repreſented as one of the Grievances of *England*.

(*b*) Ælfredi *Vit. Lib.* 1. *p.* 6.

Anno 853. SECT. XIII. And the Account our Hiſtorians give of an Affair relating to the Son of this Prince, ſeems as dark and intricate as what they commonly write of the Conduct and Benefaction of his Father; it is generally agreed, that *Alfred*, a younger Son of King *Æthelwulf*, was, when a very young Youth, ſent to *Rome*, during the Papacy of *Leo* the Fourth, and about the Year 853, and there, tho' himſelf a Youth, his Father, and no leſs than two or three Elder Brothers, all living, yet they tell us, that *Alfred* was anointed King, and adopted as his Son by Pope *Leo*. And the Monkiſh Writers are ſo unanimous in this particular, that the beſt of our late Hiſtorians take it upon their credit, and look no further; a Circumſtance which at firſt view appears very odd and ſurpriſing; for it is certain, that the Biſhops of *Rome* had not yet taſted of the pleaſure of diſpoſing Crowns.

And

And it is as certain, that *Alfred* made no pretence to the Crown of *England*, till by the Death of his Father, and Elder Brothers, Providence put that truſt regularly into his hands; and this was, according to *Aſſerius*, in the Year 871, and ſo eighteen Years after the 'foreſaid pretended Unction. What is ſaid from the *Annales Britannici*, by the Learned Annotators on the Life of this Prince, that *Alfred* was at this time King of *South-Wales*, (*a*) no way agrees with the Hiſtory of the *Britiſh* Kings, and croſſes the Account of *Aſſerius*, who lived with him and wrote his Story: And what others ſay of this Unction, that this was done by the directions of an Angel, rather adds to the ſuſpicion, than gives light or credit to the Story.

(*a*) Alfredi Vit. *Lib.* 1. *pag.* 3.

And there is ſo little weight in the common pretence, that this of *Leo* was the Act of a Prophetick Spirit, grounded on a foreſight of what *GOD* intended; that after all that is ſaid of Pope *Leo*'s anointing of this young Prince, and adopting him for his Son, one has much ado to forbear thinking, that the Matter was in truth no more than this; this promiſing Prince being ſent to *Rome*, Pope *Leo* performed the Ceremony of Anointing, previous to his Confirmation, and then taking on himſelf the Office of a God-father, preſented him to the Biſhop, by whom he was confirmed; and if this be not the whole truth of this Affair, it is at leaſt all that is intelligible and conſiſtent.

SECT. XIV. Thus much is evident, that Anointing is a Ceremony ſo conſtantly uſed at Confirmation by the *Greek* Church, that that Holy Rite is generally known to this Day by the Name of Chriſm (*b*); and there is no doubt the like practice was in uſe in the preſent Weſtern Church, and particularly in *England* in the time of *Alfred*, though not in the ſame manner as in the Eaſtern Church, where Chriſm does ſo immediately ſucceed the Office of Baptiſm, that the Enemies of that Communion do uſually pretend that Rite to be an Appendage of the Office of Baptiſm, and charge the *Greek* Church with the contempt of the ancient Rite of Confirmation (*c*); but in the caſe of *Godrune*, a King of the *Danes*, Baptized at the Inſtance of King *Alfred*, and to whom that Prince was God-father, it appears he was Baptized, and, after ſome time, Confirmed by Anoint-

Anno 853.

(*b*) Smith *de Græcæ Eccleſ. Stat.* 78.

(*c*) Ibid.

(a) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 878. ing (*a*). Nor am I without ground in the conjecture I have advanced, for the *Saxon* Chronicle ſays, that *Æthelwulf* ſent *Alfred* his third Son to *Rome* to be confirmed, (*b*) and that *Leo* preſented him to a Biſhop for that end; but then it muſt be ſaid, that the ſame Hiſtory adds, that the Pope having, upon notice of his Father's Death, conſecrated *Alfred* King, he then preſented him to a Biſhop for Confirmation: The inconſiſtence of which Account is ſuch, that the greateſt Right which can be done that excellent Hiſtory is to ſuppoſe the words relating to the Death of *Æthulwulf*; and what is ſaid of the Conſecration of his Son, to be Errors in the Copies from whence that Work was publiſhed.

(b) Ibid.

And as this will deliver that Work from the reproach of a confuſed and inconſiſtent Story, and render the ſenſe of that Paragraph more perfect and more conſiſtent with what is certain in the Matter of Fact; ſo will it deliver the Reader from that unintelligible Tale of *Alfred*'s being anointed King during the Lives of his Father and two Elder Brothers, and in his own Minority, and this too by a Foreign Prelate, who had no precedent to guide him, and could poſſibly have no temptation to lead him to a thing ſo contrary to the true Intereſt and common Meaſures of that cautious Court; beſides, it ſeems very probable, that the Ceremony of anointing Kings was a thing yet unknown to the *Engliſh* Nation.

CHAP. XVII.

Ab Anno 855 ad Annum 900.

SECT. I. KING Æthelwulf's *general Grant of Tythes: The Circumſtances thereof.*

II. *The firſt Proviſions made for the Engliſh Clergy, as early as the Settlement of Chriſtianity: Their Maintenance not owing wholly to the Grant of King* Æthelwulf: *The grounds on which payment of Tythes was ſettled in the Engliſh Church.*

III. *A*

III. *A Parochial Clergy not ſettled in Villages in the beginning of the Eighth Century: The Reaſon and Effects thereof.*

IV. *Monaſteries generally deſtroyed: This occaſions Settlement of the Clergy in Villages, and founding of Parochial Churches, and more general Marriage of the Clergy.*

V. *An Account of the firſt Endowment of the Church: The Reaſon and Conſequences thereof: Parochial Right of Tythes ſettled by degrees.*

VI. *King* Æthelwulf's *Benefaction at* Rome: *A Conſpiracy formed againſt him in his Abſence: He loſes a part of his Kingdom by his Journey to* Rome.

VII. Æthelbald *ſucceeds* Æthelwulf, *and him, two other Brothers:* Alfred *comes to the Crown: State of* England *at his acceſſion to the Crown.*

VIII. *Great part of* England *conquered by the* Danes: Alfred *ſets out a Fleet: The good effects thereof.*

IX. Alfred *divides* England *into Counties and Hundreds; and provides for the ſecurity and due order of his People.*

X. *Some Reflections on the State of the Engliſh Government: This Prince governs with the Advice of his People: The different Inferences made from thence: No Judgment to be made of the form of Government under this Prince, by the preſent Conſtitution of* England.

XI. *State of Learning in the beginning of* Alfred's *Reign: The reaſon of the decay thereof: This Prince begins the founding of Colleges for the promoting of Learning: The Reaſons and good Effects thereof.*

XII. *An Univerſity ſaid to be founded in* Oxford, *in the time of the* Britons: *King* Alfred *owned as the Founder thereof: He erects Schools to be Nurſeries to thoſe Foundations.*

XIII. *King* Alfred *invites Profeſſors from abroad, amongſt them* Grimbald *and* Scotus. Scotus *eminent in* France: *He is murdered.*

XIV. *King* Alfred *gives all encouragement to Learned Men: Tranſlates the Pſalms and Goſpels: The Paſtoral of St.* Gregory *into Engliſh: Encourages and aſſiſts his Clergy.*

XV. *King*

XV. *King* Alfred *converts a Body of the* Danes, *ſettles them in* England: *And by a Body of Laws ſettles Chriſtianity amongſt them; and provides againſt their relapſe to Idolatry.*

XVI. *Some Account of his Eccleſiaſtick Laws made for the new Converts.*

XVII. *The Laws of* Alfred *aſcribed to* Edward *his Son: The occaſion thereof: The Death of King* Alfred.

Anno 855.

SECT. I. THeſe aforementioned are not the only perplexed, and dark Paſſages in King *Æthelwulf*'s Story, but the earlieſt Notices we have of his Munificence to the Church, and of his Charity to the Poor, ſeem ſo intricate, that if the Writers after the Conqueſt had not come in to our relief, Poſterity had never known what, if true, ought never to be forgotten, his granting the Tythes of his whole Kingdom to the Church; and the tenth part of his Hereditary Eſtate to the Poor: That to the Church is ſaid to have paſſed in an Aſſembly held this Year at *Wincheſter*; and this with the conſent of *Beored* and *Edmund*, Tributary Kings of *Mercia* and the *Eaſt-Angles*, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Princes, and Nobility of *England*.

And ſeveral Copies of this Grant are tranſmitted to Poſterity by *Ingulphus* (*a*), *Malmsbury* (*b*), *M. Weſtminſter* (*c*); beſides all which, there is one from the Chartularies of *Abingdon*, publiſhed by Mr. *Selden* (*d*), but with this difference, that all the former bear date at *Wincheſter*, in the Year 855; that of Mr. *Selden* at *Wiltun*, the Year preceding; which gives great probability to the conjecture of the Learned Annotators on the Life of King *Alfred* (*e*), that this Grant of Tythes was twice made by King *Æthelwulf*, firſt in an Aſſembly of the States of *Weſt-Saxony*, and then by the States of the whole Kingdom of *England*.

And the Circumſtances of this Grant make a great addition to the Charity and generality of it; for though the Kingdom was at this time engaged in War, and needed all the Helps the Wealth of the Nation was capable of contributing toward it; and though the Perſons of the Clergy and Religious had not been altogether excuſed from Military Services in times paſt, and

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(*a*) Ingulphi *Hiſt. Col. Gale. pag.* 17.
(*b*) Malmsb. *de Geſt. Reg. Lib.* 2. *fol.*22.
(*c*) M. Weſtm. *An.* 854. *pag.* 158.
(*d*) Selden. *Hiſt. Tythes. Chap.*8. *p.*208.
(*e*) Alfredi *Vit. Lib.* 1. *pag.* 6.

in moſt of the Grants to Religious Houſes, the aiding their Princes in their Expeditions, the building of Bridges, and fortifying Towns, were Services generally reſerved to the Crown; yet in this general Endowment of the Church, the Clergy are diſcharged from all Secular Services. And ſuch is the good Fortune which has attended the Charity of this Prince, that although the Copies we have of this Grant be ſo imperfect, and the Stile thereof ſo dark, that if one was to judge of the importance of this Grant only by the Letter of it, it would not be eaſy to find the ſenſe ſucceeding Ages have put upon it; yet not only the ancient, but our modern Hiſtorians, and Mr. *Selden* (*a*) himſelf, have, with one conſent, allowed this Prince the Honour of the firſt general Law of *England* for the Settlement of Tythes.

(*a*) *Hiſtory of Tythes, cap.* 8. *pag.* 207.

SECT. II. And yet whilſt we pay this juſt Honour to the Memory of this Prince, that the Reader may not be deceived, and think he has a view of the later Ages of the Church, nor the preceding or ſucceeding Princes loſe the ſhare they had in the Honour of providing for the Service of God, it ſeems very reaſonable to add, that the Proviſion for the Parochial Clergy does in the manner and circumſtances thereof bear proportion to the building of Churches, and diſtinguiſhing and ſetting out the bounds of Pariſhes, and was not the Work of any ſingle Age, but grew up by degrees, and under the continued Cares and Charities of Princes, till it came to that State, which was once the Glory of the Engliſh Nation, and might have continued ſo to this Day, if the fond Opinions of the Monaſtick Life, together with the Artifices of the Religious, had not firſt broke in upon the Sacred Patrimony of the Church, and thoſe unhappy alienations taught Poſterity to reſume a great part of the Revenue, which their Anceſtors thought their Duty and their Glory to beſtow upon the Church and Clergy. But to return.

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Without leſſening the Honour of King *Æthelwulf*, there is juſt reaſon to bleſs Almighty God, who, from the firſt ſettlement of the Chriſtian Religion in *England*, ſeldom failed to raiſe up ſuch Princes as were Nurſing Fathers to his Church; for no ſooner was Chriſtianity ſettled amongſt the Engliſh, but a Proviſion

was made for thoſe whoſe particular care it was to attend upon the Altar: This was the caſe of thoſe Churches planted by *Auſtin* and his Followers, for *Ethelbert* no ſooner receiv'd the Chriſtian Faith, but he beſtowed conſiderable Poſſeſſions on the Church, for the Maintenance and Support of the Clergy: This too was the caſe of thoſe who owed their Converſion to the *Scots* from *Ireland*, they erected Churches, and provided for the Subſiſtance of the Clergy; though the want of other places of Education made it neceſſary for ſome Ages for the Biſhops and Clergy to live together at the Mother Church, that they might at once ſerve the preſent Age in the diſcharge of their Holy Office, and provide for the future, by training up Men to ſucceed them.

And this, together with the fond Opinions of the Monaſtick and Collegiate Life, ſo long retarded the ſettlement of the Clergy in Towns and Villages, that *Bede* ſpeaks of it as a thing very unuſual in his time, for a Clergy-man to be ſeen in Country Villages (*a*); but yet he ſaith, that there was not an obſcure Village but what was charged with a payment to the Biſhop; and in the Council of *Calcuith*, in the Year 787, the ſeventeenth Article propoſes a general payment of Tythes; and as the reaſons of that payment are founded on the Authority of the Levitical Law, ſo the Uſage eſtabliſhed by that Law, is propoſed as the meaſure for the Conduct thereof: And the Rule concerted in this Council is anſwerable hereunto, That all Men ſhould pay Tythes of all they poſſeſs, becauſe it was the particular command of *GOD* that it ſhould be ſo, and they were God's ſpecial Right. And accordingly, amongſt thoſe Laws of *Moſes* which were adopted into the Law of *England* by King *Alfred*, the Law for the payment of Tythes and firſt Fruits has a place (*b*).

(*a*) Bed. *Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 26.

Ut omnes ſtudeant de omnibus quæ poſſident decimas dare quia ſpeciale Domini Dei eſt. Concil. Britan. Vol. 1. p. 292.

(*b*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 360.

SECT. III. And yet, notwithſtanding all this care to make a Proviſion for the Clergy, there are ſo many Laws and Canons in the three ſucceeding Ages on the ſame Subject, and ſo many Inſtances of voluntary Conſecrations of Tythes, as would almoſt tempt one to think there is ſome Miſtake in what is ſaid of the foreſaid Law for the general ſettlement of Tythes; and yet our Hiſtorians are generally of the ſame Opinion in this par-

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particular; and this makes it exceedingly difficult to make a true Judgment of the preſent ſtate of the Lower Clergy, and of the ground of this ſeeming Contradiction, as to the Time, Manner, and Circumſtances of making Proviſion for them; and it may be no one thing will give more light into theſe Affairs, than the change in the face of the Engliſh Church, and the conſequences thereof, which the order of Time calls me to relate.

There being no other known Schools of Learning in the Weſtern Nations, during the Sixth and Seventh Centuries, but in Cathedrals and Religious Houſes, the Engliſh Nation, as it owed its Converſion to Men ſo educated, learnt from them ſuch eſteem and veneration for thoſe Inſtitutions, that from the firſt ſettlement of Chriſtianity amongſt the Engliſh, till after this time, the Offices of Religion were generally provided for by ſuch of the Clergy as lived at the Mother Church under the Eye and Care of their Biſhops, who were by them ſent out to officiate where the neceſſities of the Dioceſs called them; or elſe by ſuch of the Clergy as were fixed in Monaſteries, and Colleges of Canons diſperſed about the Nation.

And for this reaſon, tho' Churches were built in many places for the more convenient aſſembling for the Worſhip of *GOD*, yet they were for the moſt part ſupplied from the 'foreſaid Bodies, and by Succeſſions of Men ſent out occaſionally to officiate; and therefore the Learned Mr. *Wharton* very properly calls theſe Itinerant Preachers (*a*), and ſays of thoſe aforeſaid places of publick Worſhip, that they were not in proper ſpeaking Pariſh-Churches, but rather Chappels or auxiliary Churches to the Mother-Church, and had no ſettled Limits or Diſtricts, but were equally free to all Perſons who thought fit to reſort thither, where-ever they lived; and where the Nobility and Great Men, whoſe Lands and Territories were very great, did begin to build Churches for the convenience of their Families and Vaſſals, and with the conſent of their Biſhops had Prieſts permitted to reſide amongſt them.

(*a*) *Defence of Pluralities, pag.* 75.

Theſe Churches were the places of Worſhip to all their Tenants, Vaſſals, and Dependants, and had no other Bounds but thoſe of the Territories and Neighbourhood of the Perſons who built them; and the Subſiſtance

ſiſtance of theſe Clergy was upon the Lands ſettled by the Founders, and ſuch part of the Oblations made by the Founders, their Tenants, and Vaſſals, as were agreed upon betwixt the Biſhop and the Founder, at the firſt erecting of the Church; of the Foundations of this kind *Bede* gives an Inſtance or two, about the Year 700, when he ſaith of *Puch*, a *Saxon* Count, that he built a Church in his own Village, and invited *John*, Biſhop of *Hexham* to conſecrate it (*a*). The like Account he gives of *Addi*, another *Saxon* Nobleman (*b*). But the Inſtances of this kind are ſo few, that in a later Work of the ſame Author, his Epiſtle to *Egbert*, he makes a heavy, but juſt complaint of the want of ſuch Settlements.

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 4.
(*b*) *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 5.

Nor can we wonder at it, when it is conſidered, that the Lands of *England* were at this time in a very few Hands, the Nobility and Great Men being almoſt the only Proprietors, and the common People either their Vaſſals, or at beſt their Dependants and Tenants for Life; and as this ſeems to be one great reaſon why Churches, which bore proportion to the Proprietors of the Lands were yet but few; ſo it ſeems probable, that the changes made in *England* by frequent Sales, and enfranchiſing of their Vaſſals by the Nobility and Clergy, under the *Saxon* Government, by the Poſſeſſions acquired therein firſt by the *Danes*, and afterwards by the *Normans*, by bringing the Property of *England* into more hands, did, in proportion, increaſe the number of Churches.

For the Great Men, whoever made a greater or leſſer Figure, according to the Intereſt and Eſteem they had in their reſpective Countries, and the Opinion their People had of their independancy, did what in them lay affect the appearance of Sovereignty in their Lordſhips and Mannors; and this put them upon ſeeking, not only a Power of puniſhing little Miſdemeanors, but Felony, and Crimes of the higheſt nature, and advanc'd their Houſes to Halls, and Courts of Juſtice to their Tenants and Dependants; ſo it had this good effect alſo, it put them upon building of Churches, and making the bounds of their Mannors the bounds of Pariſhes; and deſiring Prieſts to officiate to their Families, their Tenants and Vaſſals only; and this reaſon, together

ther with the encouragement given thereunto by a Law of King *Edgar*, if I miſtake not, occaſioned the general building of Churches in this and the following Centuries, and made the Bounds of Mannors and Pariſhes the ſame; and thus in many places they continue to this Day: And, for ought appears to the contrary, this continued to be the State of the Parochial Clergy and Churches, till the Barbarities of the *Danes*, by deſtroying of Monaſteries, and a Law of King *Edgar* in the following Century, by which he empowered the Founders of new Churches to give a part of their Tithes to the Churches which they built, opened a way to the change which in time enſued.

SECT. IV. Beſides the Wealth poſſeſſed by Religious Houſes, thoſe Houſes as being the ſtrongeſt and beſt built, and moſt likely to reſiſt the fury of the *Danes*, were generally made the Treaſuries of the neighbouring Countries; and partly for theſe reaſons, and partly from a deteſtation of Religion, theſe barbarous Invaders made theſe Houſes the particular ſubject of their Rage and Fury; nor did they only treat the Perſons of the Religious with the laſt degree of Inſolence and Cruelty, but burnt their Houſes, and where-ever they found them, left nothing behind but what the Fire ſpared, to atteſt their Inhumanity to ſucceeding Ages; and this their Fury laſted ſo long, that ſuch of the Religious as eſcaped the Sword, never lived to ſee the end of it; and this ſo intirely overthrew theſe Foundations, that whereas *Bede* in the beginning of the Eighth Century complained, that the Monaſticks were ſo numerous, that they were a burthen to the Nation, when *Dunſtan* came to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the middle of the Tenth Century, the Writer of his Life ſaith, that the Name of Abbot or Monk was ſcarce known in *England*. *Anno* 855.

This change amongſt the Regulars drew after it a greater change amongſt the Secular Clergy, for their ſafety led them from the Retirement, where the moſt part of them had lived before, and forced them to diſperſe and ſettle themſelves in ſuch Villages and Towns, where they might with more ſecurity diſcharge the Offices of their Holy Function; and as this change put them under a neceſſity of endeavouring to make their Lives eaſy, by ſupplying the want of the Converſation

which they had before enjoyed, with entring into a ſtate of Marriage; ſo thoſe Monaſteries and Collegiate Societies which firſt recovered the Fury of the *Danes*, ſo generally followed their Example, that as well the Members of thoſe Societies which were originally Regulars, as thoſe founded upon another foot, were univerſally married, when *Dunſtan* came to the See of *Canterbury*; ſo that we are not to wonder at the mighty difficulties he met with in his attempts to force the married Clergy from Monaſteries, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches.

Anno 855. SECT. V. This Reflection on the ancient and preſent ſtate of the Church and Clergy of *England*, may poſſibly give us light into their Maintenance and Revenue: As for the Collegiate Societies, for the moſt part they had their Supports from the Lands ſettled upon them by the Munificence of their Founders; and it is no wonder we hear of no other Laws relating to the Revenues of thoſe who for the moſt part lived in Societies with their Biſhops, but ſuch as reſpect the general endowments of the Church; and theſe Laws being general, and extending only to general Grants of Tithes to the Service of God, we are not to wonder if in the two following Centuries we hear of frequent Dedications to particular Churches, Altars, Colleges, or Monaſteries; nor think it ſtrange if *Æthelwulf*'s Law about Tithes did not generally take place, ſo far as to eſtabliſh a Parochial Right of Tythes, till by the Zeal of ſucceeding Times, Pariſh-Churches were generally built.

And this was the caſe of foreign Churches; for tho' in the Capitulars of *Charles the Great*, there is a Law made about the Year 778, injoining a general payment of Tythes; and another about the Year 800, directing the manner of dividing Tythes; and this was followed by many other of the ſucceeding Emperors; yet it is very evident, that the Parochial Right of Tythes was ſo far from being duly ſettled by theſe Laws, that it was thought neceſſary in the Council of *Lateran*, under *Innocent* the Third, in the Year 1215, to reſume this Affair; and in the 53*d*, 54*th*, 55*th*, and 56*th* Canon (*a*), that Council determined the Parochial Right of Tythes; and yet a Writer of our own ſeems to think that theſe Canons had not their intended effect in *France*, and mentions a Canon of the Council of *Lyons*, in the Year 1274,

(*a*) *Concil. Tom.* 2. *Ed.* Labb. *Col.* 205. 208, 209.

1274, by which it was decreed, that for the time to come it ſhould not be lawful for any Man to diſpoſe his Tythes at pleaſure, as heretofore had been done (*a*); but that they ſhould be paid to the Mother-Church (*b*); but if ever there was ſuch a Canon, Mr. *Selden* well obſerves, it is not to be found in the Collection of *Binius*; and it is as evident, that there is no ſuch Canon in *Labbe*'s Edition of the Councils: But however things paſſed abroad, the ſtate of the Church of *England* conſidered, how few Pariſh-Churches were then in being, and how effectually it would have diſcouraged the building of more, if the Law of *Æthelwulf* had fixed the Tythes of his Kingdom to thoſe few Churches then erected, upon the general Endowment, will give great reaſon to value the Wiſdom and Foreſight, as well as the Zeal and Piety of the Age; and the reaſon is plain, for the Pariſh-Churches of *England*, which are now uſually computed at above nine thouſand, at the *Norman* Conqueſt, which was about two hundred Years after the Death of King *Æthelwulf*, are commonly reckoned but about four thouſand.

(*a*) Walſingh. *Hiſt. Ang. Col.* Camd. *pag.* 45.
(*b*) Ibid.

And if it be conſidered how great a part of the publick Worſhip was performed in the Monaſteries, Colleges, and at the Seats of the Biſhops; and how generally the reſt of the Nation was ſupplied by Men who had their Reſidence in thoſe places, it will be eaſy to conceive, that the number of Pariſh-Churches was very ſmall in the time of King *Æthelwulf*; and if the Precincts, which did in after-times make payment of Tythes to limited and certain Churches, were yet for the moſt part unfixed and uncertain, without leſſening the Munificence of King *Æthelwulf*, or the Piety of the Age, the Building and Endowment of ſo many Pariſh-Churches, and conſequently the diſtinguiſhing and ſetting out the Precincts and Bounds of Pariſhes, as to the payment of Tythes, are eaſily to be accounted for; and the difficulties relating to the Time, Manner, and Circumſtances of endowing the great number of Churches, built in the four ſucceeding Ages, fall before us.

But if Pariſhes in the modern ſenſe were diſtinguiſhed by *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the middle of the Seventh Century; and the Laws about Tythes had fixed and limited Tythes to the Churches within thoſe Pariſhes,

Pariſhes, in the Precincts whereof the Tithes aroſe, and given the Miniſters thereof a diſtinct and certain Property therein, it will be impoſſible to account for the after building of ſo many new Churches, and ſetting out ſo many new Pariſhes, and the frequent Conſecrations of Tythes to Monaſteries and Colleges by private Men; or to reconcile the Laws of *Æthelwulf* and his Predeceſſors to the Laws and Canons, and Hiſtories of ſucceeding Times: But having ſaid this to give ſome light to this part of our Hiſtory, I ſhall return to obſerve what was further remarkable under the Reign of *Æthelwulf*.

Anno 856.

SECT. VI. Beſides what is already ſaid of the Munificence and Charity of King *Æthelwulf*, *Anaſtaſius*, (*a*) in the Life of Pope *Benedict* the Third, has given us a long Catalogue of the rich Preſents made by this Prince to the Biſhop and Churches of *Rome*, as another Writer has of his Liberality in giving of Lead for the covering of a Monaſtery near *Paris* in *France*, which Country he took in his way from *Rome*; and during his ſtay at the *French* Court, he married *Judith*, the Daughter of *Charles the Bald*, and brought her with him into *England*; but at his return he met not with ſuch Reception as his Merit and Character ſeem'd to deſerve; for whether it was this unſeaſonable Journey to *Rome*, when his Preſence was ſo neceſſary at home, or the profuſion of his Wealth in other ways, when the Miſeries of his own Country called for it, that loſt him the Confidence and Affections of his People, or whether it was the Jealouſy his new Marriage had put into the Head of his Son, or a concurrence of theſe together, is not to be determined, but ſo it was, that at his return he found a mighty Intereſt formed to keep him out of his Kingdom, and this Conſpiracy headed by his own Son, aſſiſted by many of the Nobility, Biſhops, and People of *England*.

(*a*) Anaſtaſii *Hiſt. de Vit. Pontif. pag.* 304.

And though at the firſt view this Sedition in a ſtate exceedingly weaken'd by a War with the *Danes*, has a very affrighting Aſpect; yet the ſame Reaſon which made the danger formidable, was greatly inſtrumental in delivering the Nation from it; for the Fears the ſeveral Parties were under of becoming a common Prey to a Foreign Enemy, ſet them ſo far right at home, that

that the difference betwixt the Father and the Son *Æthelbald*, was adjuſted in the diviſion of the Kingdom; for the Father leaving the Son in poſſeſſion of the Weſtern Parts of the Kingdom, was contented with reſerving the Eaſtern to himſelf, which at this time conſiſted only of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Surry*, as the Weſtern did of the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

In this manner continued Affairs for about two Years after the return of King *Æthelwulf*, when the Death of that Prince made a new Diviſion; for by his Will he divided his Dominions betwixt his two eldeſt Sons, *Æthelbald* and *Æthelbert*; *Æthelbald* had that part given him which he had before forced his Father to yield up to him; the other Brother that part his Father died poſſeſſed of; the former ſurvived his Father but two Years and an half, but lived long enough to cover his Memory with Infamy and Diſhonour; for not contented to invade the Throne of his Father, during his Life, as ſoon as he was in his Grave he took poſſeſſion of his Bed too, taking *Judith*, the Daughter of the *French* King, and Relict of his Father, to his Wife. *Anno* 857.

SECT. VII. After *Æthelbald*'s ſhort Reign of five Years the Kingdom was again united in *Æthelbert* his younger Brother: *Alfred*, though ſaid to be anointed King about ſix Years before, was yet but a Child of eleven Years old, and ſo meanly provided for by his Father, that he was in a manner left to the Charity, as well as to the Protection of his Brothers. *Anno* 860.

And though *Æthelbert* died this Year, yet *Alfred* was ſtill to wait longer for the Crown, for the Succeſſion fell upon *Adhered*, another Elder Brother; his Reign too was ſhort, laſting but five Years, and yet he lived long enough to ſee a formidable Enemy in the Bowels of his Country, his Crown in danger of being ſnatch'd from his Head; and to ſee the Affairs of his Kingdom ſo embarraſſed, that it was not without ſome reluctancy that his Brother *Alfred* was prevailed upon to accept the Succeſſion, which fell to him by the Death of *Adhered*, in the Year 871, *Anno* 866.

The ſtate of *England* was ſuch at this time, that *Alfred* inherited the Title, rather than the Dominions of his Anceſtors; for partly by the weakneſs and unſteadineſs of his Father and his Brothers, and partly by the *Anno* 871.

Vengeance God ſuffered the *Danes* to inflict upon the Engliſh Nation, the Monarchy eſtabliſhed in the Family by his Grandfather *Egbert*, was reduced to a ſtate ſo feeble and languiſhing, that the very Title of Monarch was in a manner become precarious; for the Kings of *Mercia*, *Northumberland*, and the *Eaſt-Angles*, though they retained the Title of Tributaries, yet had ſo far ſhook off the Yoke, that they ſeldom remembred their Duty, but when the fears of being ſwallowed by a Foreign Power called them to it.

But, on the contrary, they were ever jealous of that Power whoſe Conqueſts were yet freſh in Memory, and were not careful to unite againſt the common Enemy; and this ill-grounded Jealouſy amongſt the Tributary Princes made them an eaſy Prey to the *Danes*, who had over-run the greateſt part of the Eaſt, the Midland Parts of *England*, and were haſting to the Weſt (*a*), when *Alfred* came to the Crown of *England*; ſo that by that time he had been a Month upon the Throne, he was forced upon a Battel to defend it (*b*): And if we may rely on the Writer of his Life, beſides many Rencounters, he fought no leſs than eight ſet Battels, within the firſt Year of his Reign (*c*): In ſhort, though he had a Title to a Kingdom, he was to conquer before he could hope to govern it.

(*a*) Aſſerii *Annal. An.* 870, 871.

(*b*) Aſſerii *Annal. An.* 871.

(*c*) Ibid.

Anno 874. SECT. VIII. And ſo difficult did he find it, to make Head againſt the Enemy, that in the compaſs of three or four Years after he came to the Crown he had the Mortification to ſee the *Mercian* and *Northumbrian* Kingdoms, comprehending all the Midland and Northern Parts of *England* in the poſſeſſion of the *Danes* (*d*), without being in a capacity to help them; and in all probability his own Country the Weſt of *England* had had the ſame Fate, if theſe Calamities had not changed his Meaſures, and put this Prince upon a courſe his Predeceſſors never thought of, and his Succeſſors ought never to forget, till the Sea forſakes its courſe, and *Britain* ceaſes to be an Iſland; and this was the building and ſetting out of a Fleet; for whilſt the Enemy was ſuffered to Land, and the ſafety of the Nation did intirely depend on the Courage and Bravery of a Land-Force, the Nation ever loſt, what ſide ſoever gained

(*d*) Aſſerii *Annal. An.* 873.

the

the Victory; for though the Enemy was repelled, yet ſtill they left their Marks behind them.

And therefore this wiſe Prince betakes himſelf to a courſe that in a little time broke the Meaſures of his Enemies, and by meeting his danger did eaſily overcome it; for by his Fleet at Sea having defeated that of the Enemy (*a*), and thereby broke their hopes of Supplies, he quickly reaped the benefit of his new Councils; for *Rollo*, with a conſiderable Body of *Normans*, who had wintered in *England*, and was brought thither, in all probability, by the ſame reaſons which led his Countrymen thither before him, left *England*, and landing in *France*, this Year, laid the Foundation of the Dukedom of *Normandy*; and ſuch of his Countrymen as ſtaid behind were diſpirited, by ſeeing themſelves in danger of having their Recruits and Succours cut off before they could come to them; and by this change of Meaſures, themſelves became ſubject to the Inſults and Depredations with which they were uſed to annoy their Enemies; ſo that after great variety of Fortune this Prince brought ſome of the *Danes* to a Peace, and having ingaged *Guthram*, a King of the *Danes*, to turn Chriſtian, *Alfred* became his Godfather, and at his Baptiſm gave him the Name of *Althelſtan* (*b*), and leaving him poſſeſſed of this Title of King, he gave him the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, containing *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the Iſle of *Ely*, which he planted and divided amongſt his Followers, where that Prince lived fourteen Years after his Baptiſm, and died in the Year 890.

(*a*) Aſſerii *Annal. An.* 876.

Anno 876.

(*b*) Aſſerii *Annal. An.* 890.

In this Kingdom *Guthram* the *Dane* had the Honour to ſucceed King *Edmund*, who had been barbarouſly murdered but a few Years before by thoſe of the ſame Nation, ſo unſearchable are the Meaſures of Providence. Other ſome of the *Danes* went over into *Flanders*, and ſome of the Engliſh, who had been forced to retire to Woods and Mountains, or leave their Country, returned and ſubmitted to the Government of King *Alfred*; and this was the caſe of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, and ſuch of the Tributary Kingdoms as had never before been ſincere in their Submiſſions to his Grandfather *Egbert*; ſo that it is not without good ground, that the Learned Writer of his Life ſtiles this Prince the Founder of the Engliſh Monarchy; and having

Anno 880.

Anno 886. ving ſome tolerable quiet he applied himſelf to rebuild, and repair the Cities which had been deſtroyed, or ſuffered in the War; and in the Year 886 he began with that of *London*, (*a*) and erected ſeveral new Fortreſſes to ſtop the Fury of an Enemy in caſe of a new Invaſion.

(*a*) Aſſerii *Annal. An.* 886.

Anno 886. SECT. IX. The Juſtice and good Order of his Kingdom had a greater ſhare in his Thoughts and Care; he divided it into Counties, and theſe were ſubdivided into Hundreds and Tythings, and had proper Officers, ſo fitted both for Peace and War, as made the adminiſtration of Juſtice eaſy, and without confuſion, provided for the Security and Defence of his People.

And if the Common Law of *England* has not the Antiquity aſcribed to it by that great Ornament to his Profeſſion, Sir *Edward Cook*, who makes it of Britiſh Extraction, our Anceſtors will get all the Honour that is loſt, by leſſening the Antiquity of our Forms of Law, if we ſhould rely on the Authority of thoſe who pretend to ſay, they had their beginning from the North, or allow the conjecture of the Learned Mr. *Spelman*, that the diſtinction of Common Law had its beginning under this Prince (*b*), and was deſigned to diſtinguiſh that Law which was equally obliging to the *Engliſh* and *Danes*, from thoſe Laws which were peculiar either to the *Engliſh* or to the *Danes*.

(*b*) Alfredi *Vita*, *pag.* 73.

Certain it is, that the way of Trials by Juries was an Uſage amongſt the *Germans* as old as the Days of *Tacitus*; and it is upon good ground, that the Writer of King *Alfred*'s Story affirms the eſtabliſhing of Trials by a Jury of twelve Men, ſecurity for the Peace and Behaviour, to be owing to the Wiſdom of that Prince (*c*), whether he firſt introduced theſe Uſages, or reſcued them from the rubbiſh and confuſion of the ruined Heptarchy, will not deſerve inquiry: And if that Author has not ground enough to affirm, that the ſeveral kinds of Summons, or ſeveral Forms of Writs had their beginning in this Prince's Reign, his Will (*d*) gives us Marks of the manner of entailing Eſtates, too evident to be diſputed: And the Forms and Methods of holding County and Hundred Courts, were they carefully looked into by Gentlemen of the long Robe, skilful in Antiquity, might poſſibly give great light to the original of our Tenures, and

(*c*) Alfredi *Vit. Lib.* 2. *pag.* 71.

(*d*) Aſſerius *de Geſt.* Alfred. *Col.* Camden *p.* 22.

and ſhew from whence, and by what Steps and Degrees the proceedings of Law, which reſpect the Property and Life of the Subject, and publick Peace, grew up to the ſtate in which they now appear.

SECT. X. The Conſtitution of our preſent Government is a ſubject too nice for unskilful hands, and by ſuch dark and unobſerved ſteps has grown up to what it is, that although nothing poſſibly better deſerves the ſtudy of a true Engliſhman, yet it is ſo little underſtood, that our Writers are not agreed in what Hands the Legiſlature was originally lodged, or by what Rules it was conducted; and they are equally warm who contend for a *Saxon* or *French* Original, and it may be there is a great deal of truth on both ſides; for there is no doubt but the *Saxons*, and *Normans*, and *Franks*, were mixtures of People, deſcended from the ſame Anceſtors, who inhabited about the *Baltick* Sea; and as they were Colonies and Deſcendants from the ſame Country and People, they agreed doubtleſs in ſome general meaſures of Government. *Anno* 890.

And there are no Marks of an Arbitrary Power in all the remains we have of the ancient Northern Governments; and as it is evident this was the caſe of the Engliſh under the Heptarchy, it is very probable King *Alfred* made no change in this particular, but ſuch as neceſſarily attended the ſhifting the Government from the hands of ſeveral Princes into the hands of one; but in all the remains we have of his Reign, his Government has great Marks of Wiſdom and Gentleneſs; and as his Laws ſeem to have a conſtant and ſteady regard to the good of his Kingdom, ſo there ſeems no reaſon to doubt but they were ever framed by the Councils and Advice of his People; nor does this only appear in the Preamble to that Body of Laws made after his League with *Guthram* the *Dane*, Tributary King of the *Eaſt-Angles* (*a*); and in the other Body of Laws made before for the Government of the *Weſt-Saxons*; but in the Preface to thoſe Laws he ſpeaks of this as the ancient Uſage of the Engliſh (*b*).

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 375

(*b*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 362.

And yet he that pretends to judge of the great Councils of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, by the preſent Conſtitution of an Engliſh Parliament, may poſſibly be as much deceived as thoſe Men are who derive this

Conſtitution wholly from the *Normans*; but he that can be content to ſee the Plan and firſt Lines of this Auguſt Aſſembly in theſe Ages, and will look to the Changes and Alterations in the Property, and to the experience of the Ages ſucceeding the *Norman* Revolution, for the finiſhing of this Structure, has, it may be, a juſt Hiſtory of the Great Council of this Realm, and may poſſibly ſee reaſon to think they are equally in the wrong, who run into the oppoſite extreams on this ſubject.

For he who lodges a deſpotick Power in the hands of our Princes, before the Reign of *Henry* the Third; and will not allow their great Council any ſhare in the Legiſlature, has not only the Authority of our Hiſtorians, but the univerſal Practice of all the Northern Nations to contend withal; and, on the other hand, thoſe who pretend to ſay, that the Lower Ranks of the *Saxon* People had the ſame ſhare in the Legiſlature the Commons of *England* have for ſome Ages injoyed, and will, I hope, enjoy, whilſt the Nation has a Being, have an undertaking upon their hands, not only above the Abilities, but beyond the comprehenſions of other Men. But without running into either of theſe extreams, it may be ſaid with Truth and Modeſty, for the honour of the Engliſh Government, that the firſt Plan and great Lines of our preſent Conſtitution, are as ancient as the Engliſh Nation; and our preſent Eſtabliſhment older, and more agreeable to the ancient Northern Government, than any other Government now in *Europe*.

Anno 894. SECT. XI. But to return to that which better comports with the ſubject and deſign of this Work, the Intereſts of Learning and Religion; theſe are things of a finer Texture than the Civil Rights and Secular Intereſts of Men, and commonly ſuffer more by the Calamities of War, than thoſe Intereſts do which are better able to bear up againſt them: This was the caſe of theſe Nations, and this the product of the long War with the *Danes*; if the Country was laid waſte, the Lands remain'd immoveable, a great part of the People eſcaped the Sword, and the great Lines of Government were ſtill undefaced; but Learning, which in the preceding Age ſhone ſo bright in *England*, that it was the School to neighbouring Nations; that *Rome* it ſelf envied us the Glory of *Bede*, and *France* was indebted to us for *Alcuinus*,

inus, and owes the Plan and firſt Draught of that Univerſity to him, which has continued to this Day the Glory of that Nation.

But a Nation is reduced to a miſerable ſtate when it has nothing to boaſt of, but an extinguiſh'd, or at beſt, a dying Glory; and this was our caſe; for whatever the ſtate of Learning had been in the beginning of this and the preceding Age, it was now reduced to ſuch a ſtate, that in his Preface to the Paſtoral of St. *Gregory*, tranſlated into Engliſh by King *Alfred*, that Prince thus laments the Ignorance which had over-ſpread the Nation. "Whereas, ſaith he, in times paſt, Foreigners came to "*England* in ſearch of Wiſdom and Learning, now we "our ſelves are forced to go abroad to ſeek for them; "whilſt ſo groſs an Ignorance overſpreads the Engliſh "Nation, that there are few on this ſide *Humber* that "underſtand their Prayers in the Engliſh Tongue, or can "turn a piece of *Latin* into *Engliſh*; of theſe, ſaith he, "there were ſo few, that when I came to the Crown I "do not remember ſo much as one Man on the South "ſide of the *Thames* (*a*).

(*a*) *Præfatio* Alfredi Col. Camden. *pag.* 27.

Nor will this appear ſtrange, when it is remembred, that Monaſteries and Religious Houſes, which, from the firſt planting of Chriſtianity amongſt the Engliſh, had been the chief Schools of Learning, were for the moſt part laid in Aſhes or Ruines; and which is more, the Monaſtick Life was at this time ſo far from the Reputation it met with in the laſt Age, that when *Alfred* had built a Monaſtery at *Athelney* in *Somerſet-ſhire* he was forced to ſend into *France*, and pick up Men of divers Nations to fill it: And which is more, *Aſſerius* ſaith, that for ſome Years paſt, not only the Engliſh, but many other Nations, had loſt all eſteem of the Monaſtick Life, ſuch a mighty change had time produced in the Sentiments and Affections of the Engliſh Nation, that they who but an Age before were to a Fault fond of the Monaſtick Life, now could not be prevailed on to entertain a kind thought of it.

Quia per multa retroacta Annorum curricula Monaſticæ vitæ deſiderium ab illâ totâ gente nec non & à multis aliis gentibus funditus deſierat. Aſſerius de Alfredi geſtis Camdeni Col. pag. 18.

And it is probable that this conſideration might put this Prince on providing for the Intereſt of Religion and Learning, in a manner different from that of his Predeceſſors; and well foreſeeing the difficulty of forcing the

Genius

Genius of a Nation, inſtead of confining Learning to Epiſcopal Colleges and Monaſteries, he caſt about how to promote the Intereſts of Learning in another manner: And it is not unlikely that this gave the firſt thought to erecting a College in *Oxford*, now known by the Name of *Univerſity-College*.

SECT. XII. Thus much is evident, that notwithſtanding what *Aſſerius* (*a*) has ſaid of an Univerſity founded in *Oxford* in the time of the *Britons*, and that *Gildas*, *Melkin*, and *Nennius* had their Education therein, King *Alfred* is not only owned as the Founder of *Univerſity-College*, but in the Commemorations of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, he has, to this Day, the Honour of being reputed the Founder thereof; but whether he was the Founder or Reſtorer of that venerable Body, it is certain this Prince ſpared no coſt nor labour to provide the moſt eminent Profeſſors that could be drawn together, either by Favour or Rewards; and amongſt thoſe who made the greateſt Figure were *Grimbald*, a Monk of *France*, and *John*, a *French-man*; and ſo ſucceſsful was this great Prince, that although that venerable Body has been ſubject to the common Fate of things, yet it has for the moſt part maintained a ſteady and unclouded Luſter, till by the particular Cares of Providence, and the Bounty and Charity of Holy Men, it is at laſt arrived to a pitch of Glory beyond compariſon, exceeding all the neighbouring Nations.

(*a*) Aſſerius *de Geſtis* Alfredi, *pag.* 16.

Anno 900.

And thus it remains to this Day, and without a Rival, except at home, in that other moſt eminent Nurſery of Religion and Learning, the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; in whoſe flouriſhing Eſtate God has redoubled his Bleſſings on the Engliſh Nation; and in the elegant Structures, munificent Proviſions for the encouragement of Learning, the numbers of eminent Profeſſors and Students, and exactneſs of Diſcipline and Order, theſe two Bodies have given the World ſuch proof of the Zeal and Paſſion of the Engliſh Nation, for the Intereſts of Learning, as are no where elſe to be found in the World.

But becauſe this noble Deſign muſt have loſt a great part of its uſefulneſs, if proviſion had not been made elſewhere for the Elements and firſt Foundations of Learning; therefore this Prince erected Schools in ſeveral

ral Parts of his Kingdom : And if we may rely on the Authority of *Brompton*, by a Law obliged all the People of Ability, through his whole Kingdom, to ſend their Children to thoſe Schools (*a*). Thus much at leaſt is evident from his Preface to *Gregory*'s Paſtoral, that he had come to Reſolutions of this kind, (*b*) that Children ſhould be ſent to School to learn to read Engliſh, and Write, before they ſhould be put to any Calling.

(*a*) X. *Scriptor.* Col. 814.

(*b*) *Præfatio* Alfredi Col. Camden. *pag.* 28.

But whether he lived to reduce this Reſolution into a Law, one would not be forward to determine; for no ſuch Law appears amongſt thoſe which are publiſhed under his Name: And if thoſe Laws were compiled during his Reign over the *Weſt-Saxons*, and before the ſettlement of the Monarchy, and another Body of Laws after that Settlement, as the Writer of his Life conjectures, and not without ſome grounds; yet it is evident, that no ſuch Collection ever deſcended to Poſterity, and the few remains we have thereof are very dark and imperfect.

SECT. XIII. But if the pleaſure of that Prince in this particular, was not inforced by a Law, there can be no reaſon to doubt the Zeal of that Prince to eſtabliſh Schools, and promote the Intereſts of Learning through his whole Kingdom; and amongſt thoſe Men which the encouragement of this Prince drew from abroad, *Johannes Duns Scotus*, ſometimes called *Scotus Erigena*, deſerves a particular remembrance: The Figure he made in the Diſputes of the Age, and his Fate, will not ſuffer Poſterity to forget him. *Anno* 900.

Amongſt the Writers of this Age *Paſchaſius*, a Monk of *Corbey* in *France*, in the beginning of this Century, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by broaching an Opinion, concerning the Corporal Preſence of *CHRIST* in the Sacrament, a Doctrine unknown to the firſt Ages, and which has given great occaſions of uneaſineſs and diſpute to all that ſucceeded : But though the Ignorance of the Age ſeems well fitted for a Doctrine of this kind, yet it was at firſt broached, as it has ever ſince been maintained and defended with great ſtruggle and oppoſition: Nor is this to be wondred at, when *Monſieur Mabillon* does not ſtick to own, that *Paſchaſius*'s Saying, that the Body of *CHRIST* in the Sacrament was the ſame Body which had been born of the Bleſſed

Virgin, was a way of ſpeaking unuſual in the Chriſtian Church (*a*).

(*a*) M. D. Pin. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent.* 9. *p.* 71.

And the conſequence was ſuch as might be expected, for this Novel-Doctrine of *Paſchaſius* gave great Offence to the *French*, and was firſt oppoſed by an Anonymous Writer, and then by *Bertramus*, Abbot of *Corbey*, and afterward by *Johannes Scotus*, both which later Writers, at the Inſtance of *Charles the Bald*, wrote againſt this new Opinion; at leaſt they were conſulted on this occaſion by that Prince (*b*), and from thence received their firſt thoughts of writing on that Subject; it was likewiſe by the particular appointment of that Prince that *Scotus* was engaged in tranſlating the Works of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, as appears by his Epiſtle to that Prince (*c*).

(*b*) D. Pin. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent.* 9. *p.* 77.

(*c*) Uſherii *Epiſt.* Hybernicar. *Syllog. pag.* 88.

But this Controverſy, relating to the manner of *CHRIST*'s Preſence in the Holy Sacrament, though it diſturbed the Peace of the *Gallick* Churches about this time, had hitherto given no uneaſineſs to the Church of *England*; and for that reaſon will be more properly conſidered in another place, and is but hinted at here to give ſome knowledge of the Abilities of *Scotus*, and the Figure he made in *France*; he was brought, or came into *England* in the Reign of King *Alfred*, and engaged in the Inſtruction of Youth in *Malmsbury* in *Wiltſhire*, where he had the hard Fate to be ſtabbed to Death with Penknives, by the Boys committed to his care. (*d*)

(*d*) Alfredi *Vit. pag.* 99.

Another of thoſe Learned Men, which King *Alfred* brought into *England*, had the ſame Fate with *Scotus*; but with this difference, that his Murder was the effect of premeditation and deſign; and this was *John*, a Monk, brought from *France*, and by King *Alfred* made Abbot of *Athelney*, he was murdered by his Monks at his Devotions in the Church (*e*). Such diſcouragements lie croſs the way of the beſt laid Deſigns.

(*e*) Aſſerius *de Geſtis* Alfredi *Col.* Camd. *p.* 19.

Anno 900.

SECT. XIV. But if this Prince did not ſucceed in thoſe brave Deſigns he had formed for the good of his People, yet Poſterity has been juſt in giving him the Honour of them; beſides, he had the comfort of ſharing himſelf in the benefit he deſigned for others; and by the aſſiſtance of *Plegmund*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Werefrith*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*; *Aſſerius*, the Writer of his Story; and the 'forementioned Learned Men, he made

made himſelf ſo much Maſter of the *Latin* Tongue, that he tranſlated into *Engliſh* ſeveral uſeful things, amongſt which the Hiſtory of *Bede*, and the Paſtoral of *Gregory the Great*, as by his appointment *Werefrith*, Biſhop of *Worceſter* did his Dialogues.

And if the Authorities quoted by the Learned Publiſher of the *Gothick* and *Saxon* Goſpels may be relied on, King *Alfred* tranſlated not only the Pſalms of *David*, but the whole Old and New Teſtament into *Engliſh* (*a*). And whatever has been ſaid of the Dangers which may ariſe to the Church from the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, to ſay nothing of what was done abroad, the *Britons*, the *Scots*, and *Picts*, as well as the *Engliſh*, had the Holy Scriptures in their ſeveral Tongues (*b*). And if this was not the caſe of the *Engliſh Saxons*, from the firſt Settlement of Chriſtianity amongſt them, 'tis very evident from what has been frequently ſaid before, that King *Alfred* had not the Honour to be the firſt beginner of ſo uſeful a Deſign, as the tranſlating the Holy Scriptures: But the ſhare he is on all hands allowed to have had in ſo valuable an undertaking, is ſuch as ought never to be forgotten. Nor did the Piety and Zeal of this great Man determine here, but the better to give the Clergy a juſt Idea of the Duty charged upon their Holy Function, and enable them by their good Conduct, and by the exemplarineſs of their Lives, to make up the Misfortune they ſuffered under from the Ignorance of the Age: He cauſed his Tranſlation of *Gregory*'s Paſtoral to be ſent to every Dioceſs; and from that Regularity, Order, and Devotion which his own exemplary Piety had introduced into his Court, he endeavoured to ſpread a Spirit of Serioufneſs and Devotion throughout his Kingdom.

(*a*) T. Mareſchalli *obſerv. in Verſion Ang. Sax. pag.* 488.

(*b*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 1.

And for this end he gave the Biſhops and Clergy the higheſt Marks of his Eſteem and Favour; and all poſſible encouragement in the diſcharge of their Holy Office: And this encouragement, and the particular tenderneſs he ever treated thoſe with, who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves either by their Abilities and Learning, or their Zeal for God's Service, produced ſuch a mighty change within the compaſs of this Prince's Reign, that in the ſame Work, wherein he ſaith, when he came to the Crown, there was ſcarce a Clergy-man, South of *Hum-*

Humber able to conſtrue a piece of *Latin*: He thanks God there were in his time ſome who came to ſuch degrees of Learning, that they were fitted for the Inſtruction of others (*a*): Such ſudden and mighty changes do the Spirit and *Genius* of a wiſe Prince produce.

(*b*) *Epiſt.* Aluredi. *ad* Wulſtan. Epum. *Concil.* Brit. *Tom.* 1. *pag.* 379.

Nor did his countenancing Learning and Religion determine in Perſonal Favours and Eſteem of the Clergy, but he took all poſſible care to convey to after-Ages, ſuch veneration and eſteem for Religion and Learning, and that Order of Men who were appointed to watch over the Intereſts of Truth and Holineſs, as he himſelf had raiſed up in the Age in which he lived; and therefore in the Body of Laws compoſed whilſt he was only a titular Monarch, and in truth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*: He granted great Immunities to the Clergy, to the Places dedicated to God's Service, and provided for the great Intereſts of Religion.

And it is very likely, that if that addition of Laws, which, upon good grounds, the Writer of his Life thinks to have been made after the Settlement of the Monarchy had been preſerved to after-Ages, we had had ſtill greater Marks of the Zeal and Concern of this Prince, for the Honour of GOD and his Church.

Anno 900. SECT. XV. And indeed, if the World had never had any other proofs of the Wiſdom and Piety of this Prince, than thoſe which yet appear in the Body of Laws compoſed at the Settlement of the *Daniſh* Colony, that alone is very extraordinary, and the Occaſion and Circumſtances thereof ſo remarkable, that they ought never to be forgotten, though without breaking the Series of Story they could not be remembred in the juſt order of Time.

After a long and bloody War betwixt King *Alfred* and the *Danes*, that Prince having reduced his Enemies to ſuch Difficulties, that they were forced to ſue for Peace, to make it appear that he knew how not only to Conquer, but to Forgive, and do Good to his Enemies, He conſented that *Guthram*, the General and King of the *Danes*, then in *England*, together with thoſe of his Nation, ſhould ſettle themſelves in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the Iſle of *Ely*, to be held as a Tributary Kingdom under himſelf; but upon this Con-

condition that they ſhould all turn Chriſtians: And ſo much did he lay this conſideration to Heart, that whilſt we hear little of the Articles which relate to their Civil Rights, thoſe wherein the Chriſtianity of that People were immediately concerned, are very full, and preſerved to this Day as a ſtanding Monument of the Paſſion of that Prince for the Honour of God; and theſe paſs by the Title of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King *Alfred*, and *Guthram*, King of the *Danes*, and are ſaid to be made at the finiſhing of the League betwixt thoſe Princes; yet in truth are little elſe but Articles of Agreement, wherein to ſecure the ſteadineſs and direct the conduct of the new Converts in the great Duties of Chriſtianity; and to prevent their relapſe to the Superſtition and Idolatry of their former ſtate, they were to hold the Favours of King *Alfred* upon no other terms than doing their Duty to God, and perſevering in the Religion of *Chriſt*.

SECT. XVI. And therefore the firſt Article is, that the *Danes* ſhould renounce Paganiſm, and agree in the Worſhip of the true God (*a*). *Anno* 900.

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1 *pag.*375.

2. The ſecond directs the Puniſhment in caſe of Apoſtacy. The three following give Rules for the Conduct of the Clergy.

9. The ninth preſcribes the Puniſhment of thoſe who with-hold their Tythes. And almoſt all that follow provide for the regular obſervance of the Faſts and Feſtivals of the Church; and in particular for that of the Lord's-Day. In ſhort, of the whole ſeventeen Articles, of which this League did conſiſt, there is not one which does not not reſpect the Intereſt of Religion, or the conduct of thoſe whoſe Duty it was to attend upon it.

It is hard to ſay when this League was made, but it is moſt probable it was made the ſame Year wherein *Guthram*, King of the *Danes*, and the great Commanders in his Army, were baptized, *viz.* the Year 877, at which time the Peace betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Danes* was made, and the *Danes* allowed to ſettle themſelves in the Eaſterly Parts of *England*. *Guthram* ſurvived this his Converſion about fourteen Years, and, for ought appears to the contrary, was juſt to his Agreement: And as he maintained his Friendſhip with King *Alfred* to the laſt; ſo it is not unlikely that this Peace broke the Storm which threatned *England* by the *Norman* Adventurers under

(a) Gemitic. Col. Camdeni pag. 612. & 613.

Rollo, who came into *England* (*a*), and having ſtaid ſome time in *Norfolk*, and entred into Friendſhip with King *Guthram*, and received ſome aſſiſtance from him, without making any attempt upon *England*, he ſailed to *France*, where he acquired to himſelf the Title of Duke of *Normandy*.

SECT. XVII. And it is very probable that this League betwixt King *Alfred* and the *Danes* was renew'd after the Death of *Alfred*, by *Edward* his Son, with the Succeſſor of *Guthram*; and that the Terms were ſtill the ſame: And that this is the reaſon why a fragment of the ſame Agreement is communicated to the Publick, under the Title of the Eccleſiaſtick Laws of *Edward*, the Elder King of *England*, and *Guthram* King of the *Danes*, in the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, (*b*) though it is no doubt but there is a Miſtake in this particular; for it is certain that *Guthram* died nine or ten Years before the Death of King *Alfred*, and ſo before *Edward* came to the Crown of *England*. But to return.

(b) Concil. Brit. Tom. 1. pag. 390.

Anno 900.

Whilſt King *Alfred* was endeavouring, in his Example, to give Poſterity a view of the great things which may be done by the Zeal and Piety of a wiſe and an active Prince; and labouring to promote the Intereſts of Juſtice, and good order of Learning and Religion; and his great Deſigns were yet but in their Infancy, it pleaſed GOD to take this Prince to himſelf, the twenty ſixth of *October*, in the Year nine hundred, according to *Aſſerius*; the Year following, according to the *Saxon*-Chronicle, after a Reign of nine and twenty or thirty Years, as *Aſſerius* and the *Saxon* Chronicle do differently relate it. He was buried at *Wincheſter* in the Cathedral Church.

King Alfred *dies.*

King Edward *the Elder*, October 26. Anno 900.

In this poſture ſtood the Affairs of the Church of *England*, when *Edward* the Eldeſt Son of King *Alfred*, and commonly known by the Name of *Edward* the Elder, came to the Crown of *England*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Ab Anno 901 ad Annum 941.

SECT. I. *THE beginning of* Edward's *Reign disturbed: This Prince said to be Excommunicated, and his Kingdom put under an Interdict by Pope* Formosus, *for neglecting to fill the vacant Bishopricks.*

II. *The original and improbability of that Story.*

III. *Mr.* Cressey's *attempt to remove the difficulties of that Story insufficient.*

IV. *Seven Bishops said to be consecrated by* Plegmund, *Archbishop of* Canterbury: *Some new Bishopricks erected, not owing to the Papal Power: Supremacy of the King in Ecclesiastical Causes hitherto owned by the Church of* England.

V. *The earliest Writers make no mention of the Interdict of the Kingdom, or of the Excommunication of the King: Every thing runs into confusion.*

VI. *Misery and Confusions of the* English *Church, short of those in the Church of* Rome: *The folly of that pretence which makes Prosperity the Mark of the true Church.*

VII. *The sad estate of the* Romish *Church in this Age.*

VIII. *The general decay of Learning and Religion in the Western Nations.* Edward *the Elder dies:* Athelstan *succeeds: The Trifling and Fictions of the Legendary Writers.*

IX. Dunstan *born.* *King* Athelstan *his Care of the Church: Confirms his Father's Grants of Tythes: Holds some Councils for Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

X. *Ecclesiastical Laws ascribed to King* Athelstan. Dunstan *banished.*

XI. *The Honours paid to the Clergy and Men of Learning.* *King* Athelstan *dies.*

Not-

Anno 901. SECT. I. NOtwithſtanding all the Precaution and Wiſdom of King *Alfred*, in the Settlement of the Church and Monarchy, the Reign of his Son began in the Misfortunes new Governments are uſually ſubject to; for ſcarce ſooner was the Ceremony of his Unction performed by *Plegmund*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, when *Æthelwald* his Couſin, and probably Son to *Æthelred*, Brother to King *Alfred*, withdrew himſelf privately from the Court, and went over to the *Danes* (*a*), who had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome of the Northern parts of *England*; and being choſen King by them did for ſome Years give a great deal of Trouble and Diſquiet to the new Reign of King *Edward*, which ended at laſt in the Death of *Æthelwald*, and *Eorick*, Tributary King of thoſe *Danes*, who were ſettled in the Eaſtern parts of *England* under the former Reign, and which Prince *Æthelwald* had ſeduced from his Duty. The Death of theſe Princes was followed with a Peace, about the Year 907.

(*a*) Aſſerii *Annal. An.* 901.

Anno 904. But before this War was concluded, King *Edward* is ſaid to be attacked in a manner unknown to all the paſt Ages, and which might poſſibly have remained a Secret to thoſe to come, if ſome of our later Hiſtorians had not been fortunate in a diſcovery which eſcaped thoſe who lived before them; for *Malmsbury* tells us, (*b*) that Pope *Formoſus* being informed that all the Weſt of *England*, comprehending the whole Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, had lain unprovided of Biſhops for ſeven whole Years, that Prelate, out of his Zeal for the Glory of GOD, ſent a Bull to King *Edward*, Interdicting his Kingdom, and Excommunicating him and all his Subjects, till the vacant Biſhopricks were filled up, and ſuch new ones erected as ſhould be thought neceſſary.

(*b*) Malmsb. *de Geſt. Reg. Ang. Lib.* 2. *fol.* 26.

This treatment ſo alarmed this Prince, that, as the ſame Author ſaith, he called a Synod this Year, in which *Plegmund*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, preſided; and wherein, inſtead of two Biſhopricks in the Weſt of *England*, five were erected, and ſo many new Biſhops choſen: This being done, the Archbiſhop haſted away preſently to *Rome*, and with rich Preſents and great Submiſſion appeaſed the Anger of *Formoſus*, and obtained from him a confirmation of what had thus paſſed in *England*,

England, and then returning to *England*, it is ſaid that in one Day he conſecrated ſeven new Biſhops; and that theſe were *Trideſtan* for *Wincheſter*, *Adelſtan* to *Cornwal*, *Werſton* to *Sherborn*, *Athelelm* to *Wells*, and *Eidulphus* to *Credington*; for *Seolſey*, *Bernegus*; and for *Dorcheſter*, *Cenulphus*.

SECT. II. Though as Mr. *Wharton* obſerves, (*a*) there is a fragment of an Hiſtory, thought to be wrote by a Monk of *Abingdon* in the Tenth Century, which mentions the Conſecration of ſeven Biſhops in the Year 904; yet, if I miſtake not, *Malmsbury* is the firſt Perſon to whom the World is obliged for the Account of King *Edward*'s Excommunication, and *Formoſus*'s confirming what was done in *England*; at leaſt it appears, that *Baronius* takes his Account from him; and from that Author the 'foreſaid Story is derived into the Collections of *Spelman* and *Labbe*; but whereſoever this Story had its beginning, it has been received by ſo many of our own Hiſtorians, that if the many Inconſiſtencies in the Story it ſelf did not juſtify the doubt, the number of the Authorities would not permit one to call the Story into queſtion. *Anno* 904.

(*a*) *Angliæ Sac. Par.* 1. *p.* 554.

But the Character of King *Alfred*, and his Zeal for the Church, and the Impoſſibilities in point of Time, ſeem to over-ballance all the Authorities on the ſide of this Story; for one cannot eaſily think that *Alfred* could be guilty of ſuch a ſhameful neglect whilſt he lived; and it is ſtill harder to form any Idea of *Formoſus*'s Zeal for the Church, after that Prelate himſelf was dead; and yet at the firſt view of this Story theſe Difficulties ſtand in our way.

For *Formoſus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, came to the Papacy in the Year 891, and died in the beginning of the Year 896, and the Year following was taken out of his Grave, by the appointment of his Succeſſor *Stephen*; and his Corps being array'd in his Epiſcopal Robes, was charg'd with uſurping the See of *Rome*; and then the Epiſcopal Robes being taken off his Body, it was by the commandment of *Stephen* caſt into the River *Tiber*: (*b*) And therefore *Baronius*, who relates this inhuman and barbarous Proceeding, foreſeeing how odly it would appear to bring this Prelate from the Dead, to exerciſe his Authority upon an Engliſh Prince, undertakes to ſay,

(*b*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 897.

there is a Miſtake in the Chronology of *Malmsbury*, and that the Year 904 is miſtaken for the Year 894; but this only changes, but does not remove the difficulty; for if *Formoſus* was alive in that Year, it is as certain that King *Alfred* was alive to, and that *Edward* came not to the Crown till ſix Years after; ſo that it is certain, that *Edward* and *Formoſus* were not King and Pope together; but, on the contrary, *Formoſus* was dead at leaſt four Years before *Edward* came to the Crown.

Anno 904. SECT. III. Mr. *Creſſey* well foreſeeing how little this inconſiſtent Story would agree with his own Account of *Formoſus*, and of King *Edward*'s acceſſion to the Crown, after all that *Malmsbury*, and the Hiſtorians which follow him, have ſaid of *Formoſus*'s excommunicating King *Edward*, and the mighty ſtreſs *Parſons* had laid upon this Inſtance, to prove the Power of the Biſhops of *Rome* over the Kings of *England*, tells us, that the Epiſtle of *Formoſus* was wrote to the Biſhops of *England*, to command them to be watchful and couragious in the diſcharge of their Duty, (*a*) but ſaith not a word of the excommunicating of the King by *Formoſus*; and he was doutbleſs in the right, in reſpiting the Cenſure of a King, which he was ſure was not in being, till after the Death of *Formoſus*.

(*a*) Creſſey's *Ch. Hiſt. An.* 994.

But to make amends for the Wrong he had done in ſpoiling a Story ſo uſeful to the Pretenſions of the Court of *Rome*, he follows *Polidore Virgil*, and ventures to croſs the Authority of *Baronius*, *Malmsbury*, and of all the *Engliſh* Writers who relate this Story, and fixes this Excommunication upon Pope *John*, who was poſſeſſed of the See of *Rome*, in the Year 905; and to do him Right, there is a great deal of reaſon to think there is as much truth in aſcribing this Affair to Pope *John*, as to *Formoſus*. There are ſeveral other conjectures advanced by the Learned *Spelman*, the Publiſhers, and the Annotators on the Councils, to reconcile the Inconſiſtences of the 'foreſaid Story; but, after all, the Difficulties are ſtill invincible; and the Story ſeems to deſerve no better place than amongſt the Legends of the Age.

And the Miſtakes in all the other parts of the Story are no leſs viſible; for whereas it is ſaid, that the Biſhopricks

ſhopricks of *Wincheſter* and *Sherborn* had been void ſeven Years, ending in the Year 904, it is evident, that *Denulphus* was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in the Year 879, and died not till the Year 909; (*a*) and *Aſſerius*, who was Biſhop of *Sherborn*, during the Reign of King *Alfred*, did not die till the Year 909 (*b*). Beſides it is very evident, that from the time that King *Edward* came to the Crown, till the Year 906, that Prince was engaged in a perpetual War, and had no leiſure, indeed ſcarce a poſſibility of undertaking ſuch a change in the Affairs of the Church, if the negligence of his Father had made it neceſſary.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 909.

(*b*) Aſſerii *Annal. A* 909.

SECT. IV. But though the circumſtances of the 'foreſaid Story ſeem to be nothing elſe but an incoherent Scene of Fiction, there is ground to think there is truth in what is ſaid of the erecting new Biſhopricks about this time, and the conſecration of ſeven Biſhops in one Day, by *Plegmund*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign; and there is great probability on the ſide of the Opinion, which from the Authority of *Diceto* (*c*) is advanced by the Judicious and Learned Mr. *Wharton* (*d*), who fixes this Affair in the compaſs of this Year, and concludes what is ſaid of the Excommunication of the King, or Interdict of the Kingdom, and the Pope's confirming the Diviſion of the Weſtern Dioceſes, and the election of the Biſhops thereof, together with the Bull of *Formoſus*, to be an Addition, if not the Fiction of thoſe Writers, who making their Judgment of things paſt, by the receiv'd Rules of the Age in which they lived, concluded from the Intereſt the Biſhops of *Rome* poſſeſt in their Times, in the founding of Biſhopricks and confirming of Biſhops, that theſe Tranſactions paſſed with the approbation of the Pope; whereas it is very evident, that the Doctrines of Interdicting Kingdoms, and Excommunicating Kings, were yet unknown to the World.

Anno 909.

(*c*) *Abbreviat. Chronicon. An.* 908.

(*d*) *Angliæ Sac. Part* 1. *pag.* 554.

And it is as evident, that from the firſt Settlement of Chriſtianity amongſt the Engliſh, the Kings of *England*, with the Advice of their Biſhops and People, founded or divided Biſhopricks as they ſaw cauſe, and without expecting any Authority or Allowance or Approbation from abroad. And the great number of Eccleſiaſtical Laws made by King *Alfred*, and *Edward* his Son, as well

well as by their Predeceſſors, and this too with the advice and good-liking of their Clergy, leave no poſſibility of doubting that the Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil Cauſes, was hitherto eſteemed the undoubted Right of the Kings of *England*.

Anno 909. SECT. V. And this conſideration, together with the ſilence of *Aſſerius*, who lived at this time, and the *Saxon* Chronicle, who ſay not a word of the 'foreſaid Interdict or Excommunication, or of the pretended confirmation of the new Biſhopricks, do ſtill more confirm one in a belief, that thoſe Circumſtances are owing to after-Ages; beſides, there is great reaſon on the ſide of that conjecture, which poſtpones the erecting of the new Biſhopricks till the Year 909; for it appears, that the Biſhops of *Sherborn* and *Winchester* died both in that Year, which made it eaſie to divide their Dioceſes, and proportion the Revenues and Diſtricts of the new Biſhopricks.

And it is evident, that *Triſtan*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, was not raiſed to this high Truſt till this Year (*a*); and that *Dorcheſter* and *Seolſey* had been void for ſeveral Years; and theſe four Biſhopricks being void this Year, it is eaſy to think, that the King taking the advantage of theſe Avoidances, might erect the three new Weſtern Biſhopricks, and the tradition for the Conſecration of ſeven Biſhops in one Day, may, as the Learned Mr. *Wharton* conjectures, thus poſſibly be accounted for, whilſt the 'foreſaid Additions to it can never be eſteem'd otherwiſe than as Fiction and Imagination, by any one who conſiders the Age, the Chronology, the Character of King *Alfred*, together with the Circumſtances of the Story.

(*a*) Aſſerii *Annal. An.* 909.

Amongſt thoſe Biſhops conſecrated by *Plegmund*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Athelm*, Biſhop of *Wells*, and Succeſſor to the Archbiſhop in the See of *Canterbury*, was one; for *Plegmund* died about the Year 923, the Year following *Athelm* was tranſlated to the See of *Canterbury*. One would have hoped that the Church of *England* being thus provided with a fit number of Biſhops, the favour and countenance of a wiſe and active Prince, added to the Proviſion and Encouragements for Learning, might have anſwered the Hopes and Cares of its Patrons; but a little time ſhewed how eaſily the over-

Anno 911.

ruling

ruling Hand of Providence can diſappoint the wiſeſt Meaſures, and bring to nothing the faireſt Hopes.

For about this time the War broke out again; and though it had ſome ſhort Intervals, it laſted ſo long, that King *Edward* lived to act a great part in it, but never to ſee it ended; and the Miſchiefs to the Church and Religion, and the Intereſts of Learning, were ſuch as might be expected in a Nation covered with Confuſion and Blood; for notwithſtanding the Cares and Zeal of the Biſhops and Clergy, every thing ran into Confuſion and Diſorder about this time.

SECT. VI. And notwithſtanding the vain pretences of thoſe who judge of Truth by Proſperity, and make flouriſhing the diſtinguiſhing Mark of the true Church, miſerable at this time was the whole ſtate of the Weſtern Church; and if there was a difference betwixt the Churches of *England* and *Rome*, it lay chiefly in this, that the caſe of *Rome* was much the ſaddeſt, and laſted longeſt. GOD thought fit to chaſtiſe the Engliſh Church, but it was by the Hands of their Enemies; they had the misfortune of Suffering, but not the guilt of their own ruine; but this uncomfortable circumſtance added weight to the Miſery of the Church of *Rome*, that its Miſery was from it ſelf, and their Sorrows had their beginning from thoſe who ought to have loved and prayed for, or died for its Peace, their own Biſhops; for to ſay nothing of what the Church of *Rome* ſuffered by the *Saracens*, *Huns*, and *Lombards*, the Miſchiefs are ſcarce to be expreſſed, which the wickedneſs of thoſe who held that Chair drew upon it. *Anno* 911.

The Wealth and Authority which *Charles the Great*, and the ſucceeding Emperors had conferred upon the Biſhops of *Rome*, had raiſed thoſe Prelates to the grandeur and ſtate of Princes; and this conſideration ſo fired the Ambition of their Clergy, that *Platina* ſaith, that Ambition and Faction, Simony and Bribery, and ſometime Poiſoning and Aſſaſſinations, and the blackeſt Villanies, had all their turns in voiding and filling up the Papacy; ſo that from the Death of *Adrian* the Third, in the Year 885, till the advancement of *Gregory* the Seventh, in the Year 1074, containing the Succeſſions of above fifty Popes, if the Authority of *Platina* may be relied upon, the Papacy fell into the hands of Men ſo pro-

digiouſly wicked, as are no where elſe to be found in any Hiſtory of the World.

And if this was not the caſe of *Formoſus*, for whoſe Care and Zeal to the Engliſh Church ſome Men ſo earneſtly contend, it is certain, that what is added to his Character, muſt be taken from that of his Succeſſor *Stephen*; for no Art can brighten the one, without making the other the blackeſt Monſter in the World; for it is evident, that *Stephen* and his Synod not only pronounced *Formoſus* an Uſurper of the Holy Chair, and treated his Corps with ſuch circumſtances of Inhumanity, as are not to be found in the Story of *Nero*, but pronounced his Ordinations void, (*a*) and forced ſeveral Prieſts to be re-ordained, and the Biſhops he had made, to receive new Conſecration.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 897.

Anno 912. SECT. VII. And things were ſo far from being better, that the Account of *Baronius* this Year, makes them infinitely worſe; for now the pretended Miſtriſs of other Churches was, as that Learned Writer ſaith, under the government of Harlots, (*b*) who not only advanced Biſhops and Prieſts, ſuitable to the Character of thoſe whoſe Creatures they were, but filled the Chair of St. *Peter* with Impoſtors (*c*). I have led the Reader into this melancholly Story, partly to clear what is ſaid before in the Affair of the pretended Interdict; and partly, that by giving a view of the preſent ſtate of the Romiſh Church, and of the Characters of the Men who filled that Chair, and the Difficulties they had to keep it, the better to enable him to make a true Judgment of the Figure thoſe Prelates made in this Age; and ſhew how little probability there is in thoſe fond things ſaid by the later Writers of that Communion, of the Power of thoſe Prelates in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.

(*b*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 912.

(*c*) Ibid.

And one who conſiders this well, cannot but ſtand amazed at the confidence with which *Polidore Virgil*, and ſome other Writers ſpeak of *England* as a Fee of the Papacy, and a Tributary Kingdom, in an Age when the wickedneſs of its Prelates had rendred that Church the Pity or Contempt of *Europe*. Nor am I ſingular in this obſervation, but both *Malmsbury* and *Dunelmenſis* have gone before me, and agree both in the Contempt and Scorn the Papal Dignity at this time laboured under; and in recounting the Reaſons thereof they alſo agree

in

in laying the blame on the Impieties of thoſe who filled that Chair; and what is ſaid above from *Baronius*, confirms the Sentiments of thoſe Writers.

SECT. VIII. And which is ſadder ſtill, theſe Afflictions were not peculiar to the Churches of *England* and *Rome*, but a general decay of Learning, and Religion, and Diſcipline, ſpread it ſelf over the whole Weſtern Church; and this ſo groſs and viſible, as has given juſt occaſion for the reproach caſt on the Tenth Century, under the opprobious Title of the *Leaden Age*. GOD knows this was too much the caſe of *England* at preſent, and the influence on the time to come was ſuch as might be expected; and therefore, unleſs it were the Death of *Plegmund*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 923, and of his Succeſſor *Athelm*, about two Years after, and ſome other Fathers of the Church, there is ſcarce any thing that will deſerve remembrance, till the Death of *Edward* the Elder, at *Farendon* in *Berk-ſhire*, in the Year 925. *Æthelſtan*, Son to *Edward* the Elder, ſucceeded to his Crown as *Wulfhelm* did to *Athelm*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, both in the compaſs of this Year.

Anno 923.

King Edward *the Elder dies.*

King Æthelſt. *Anno* 925.

Æthelſtan was a bold and warlike Prince, and by his Succeſſes againſt the *Danes* ſeated in the North of *England*, his Victories over the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh Scots*, and the great things he did for the re-eſtabliſhing of the Engliſh Monarchy, he has furniſhed the Hiſtories of the States with Notices too material to be forgotten, whilſt the Hiſtory of the Church remains as dry and barren as it was before, and affords entertainment for ſuch Men only whoſe vitiated Palates reliſh nothing but what a wiſe Man would be aſhamed to relate; and yet ſuch pains do we ſee ſome Hiſtorians take to give a turn to every thing ſo forced and unnatural, as if they were to entertain the Reader, as GOD provided for the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs, with a continued Scene of Miracles: And ſuch is the affinity betwixt ſome Legendary and Poetick Writers, that the Fiction appears ſo equal on both ſides, that it is hard to ſay, whether the Hiſtory of the Saint or of the Hero is the moſt Romantick, or to diſtinguiſh the Hiſtory from the Poem, if the want of Taſte and Spirit on one ſide, and the Life and Reliſh of the other, did not determine.

Anno 925.

And

And thus Poſterity loſes the Advantage and Benefit which might have been hoped for from the Examples of ſome Great and Holy Men, by the unhappy Zeal of thoſe who have had the penning of their Story, for their Figures are uſually ſo much too big for the Life, that the Example appears too great for imitation, and their Story is loſt by being made incredible; for Men that indulge in Liberties of this kind, put the Faith of others ſo much on the reſerve, that they who frequently Lye, are ſeldom believed when they ſpeak Truth.

Anno 925. SECT. IX. Though there is too much reaſon for it, yet I ſhall not apply this to the Hiſtories of St. *Dunſtan*, who is ſaid to have been born this Year, and to have been uſhered into the World by a Scene of Miracles: But leaving the Writers of his Life to enjoy the Miracles of his Birth and younger Years, I ſhall content my ſelf ſilently to follow him to the See of *Canterbury*; and in the mean time, it will be fit to turn, and gather up the imperfect Remains we have of our Eccleſiaſtical Affairs under the buſy and warlike Reign of King *Æthelſtan*.

Tho' *Æthelſtan*'s Reign was little elſe but a continued Scene of War, and his Sword ſcarce ever ſheathed till it was laid up in his Grave; yet he did not forget the Patterns his Grandfather and Father had ſet before him, nor the Duty he owed to GOD, as the Defender of his Church; but, as occaſion ſerved, he called his Clergy and Nobility together, to provide for the Intereſts of Religion; and though the Dates and Reſults of the Aſſemblies he convened are for the moſt part loſt, and we hear little more of them than that he held ſeveral Coun-

Anno 928. cils of this kind at *Exeter*, *Feverſham*, *Thunderfield*, *London*, and *Greatlea*.

Yet by Remains we have of the Council ſaid to be held at *Greatlea*, ſome Judgment may be made of what might have been expected, had the Reſolutions of the other Councils been tranſmitted to Poſterity. The Remains we have of this Council, ſaid to be held this Year, and the third of his Reign, paſs by the Name of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of *Æthelſtan*; and theſe give us great Marks of the Wiſdom and Piety of this Prince; but withal, they yield an uncomfortable view of the Church and Religion of the Age.

SECT.

SECT. X. The first of these explains the Laws of his Father and Grandfather for the general payment of Tythes, and commands his Officers to pay the Tythes out of his Demesns, as well of his Cattle, as of the Fruits of the Ground; and requires his Nobility and Bishops to make the like payment out of their Estates, and to declare this as the Law of *England*, in all the Courts in which they preside. *Anno* 928.

The second reinforces the ancient, and, if I am not mistaken, the first legal Provision made for the Subsistance of the English Clergy, by a personal Tythe or Charge on every House-keeper, which is called the *Ciric-Sceat*, or Church-Tribute in the Language of *Bede*, and possibly may be the same Payment which under the Name of *Wax-shot*, a corruption of *Kirk shot*, is in some parts of *England* continued to this Day, at least by the *Cyric-Sceat*, one would think could not be meant the first Fruits of Seeds, as our late Writers from Mr. *Wheelock* commonly render it; the reason is, that the Tythe of Seeds, as comprehended under Prædial Tythes is provided for by the preceding Law.

The third Law injoins the Officers of the King to make a Provision for the Poor out of the Estate of the Crown.

The fourth directs the Punishment of Church breakers.

The fifth of Sorcery and Witchcraft.

The sixth respects the Coinage of Money.

The seventh and eighth direct the manner and circumstances of the Ordeal Trials, or Trials by Fire or Water, and give the Offices of Religion, and the Holy Rites of the Gospel-Institution, so great a share in the regulation and conduct of those Pagan Practices as are very apt to give one a very melancholly Idea of the present state of Religion; for Fasting and Prayer, Confession of Sins, and Receiving the Holy Sacrament, the Preparatories here enjoined to the 'foresaid Purposes, shew at least a mighty mixture of Religion and Superstition.

The ninth has a mixture of Religious and Civil Rights, and at once directs the observance of the Lord's-Day, and appoints that Vouchers should be brought to attest the Rights of those who Sell; and that no Markets or Courts of Judicature be held on the Lord's-Day.

The tenth preſcribes the Puniſhment of Perjury.

And ſo little was this Age acquainted with that Doctrine which exempts the Affairs of Religion, and the Perſons of the Clergy from the Authority of the Princes under whom they live, that

The Eleventh Law eſtabliſh'd in this Convention is a ſort of Rubrick to the Biſhops and Clergy in the diſcharge of their reſpective Duties, eſpecially in thoſe Inſtances which more immediately reſpect the Peace and Juſtice of the Subject; and here, according to the ancient Uſage of *England*, the Biſhops are obliged to be perſonally preſent in the Courts of Judicature, to over-ſee and direct the conduct of the Judges.

The twelfth Article preſcribes the Religious Offices, which the Clergy were to perform for the King and his People.

The thirteenth aſcertains the Fines chargeable on Offenders in Caſes of Blood, and proportions them not by the proper nature of the Offence, but by the Character and Quality of the Perſons murdered.

Anno 928. SECT. XI. And here I muſt not omit to obſerve, the particular regard that this Age ever paid to Religion and Learning; for the ſtated Rules by which this Age judged of the Dignity and Honour due to Men, were either by the Fines impoſed upon thoſe who murdered them; or elſe by the weight their Teſtimony bore in Courts of Judicature: And in both the Inſtances the Clergy and Nobility are by the Laws of this Prince, as well as by thoſe of his Predeceſſors placed upon the ſame level: The Fine for the murder of an Archbiſhop and an Earl are the ſame, that of a Biſhop and a Judge are alike, and that of a Prieſt and of a Lord, or Thane are ſo too, (*a*) and their Teſtimonies bore the ſame proportion in Courts of Judicature; and thus too amongſt the ways by which Men raiſed themſelves to Honour, Learning, and Holy Orders, gave Men a Right by a Law of this Prince, (*b*) if not of this Council.

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 406.

(*b*) Ibid.

Thus things paſſed in this Aſſembly; but from this time to the end of his Reign his time was ſo entirely taken up in his Wars with the *Danes*, the *Scots*, or *Britons*, that except ſome Inſtances of his Charity, in building and repairing of Churches and Monaſteries, and the uſual changes occaſioned by the Death of ſeveral of the Biſhops,

Biſhops, we have little remains of what paſſed betwixt this Council and the end of King *Æthelſtan*'s Reign, relating to the Affairs of the Church, unleſs it may deſerve to be remembred, that *Dunſtan*, afterward Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was introduced into the Court of this Prince, and baniſhed thence again for ſuſpicion of being guilty of Magick before the end of this Reign; but it will be time enough to conſider his Story, when the long Controverſy about the Marriage of the Clergy, begun by him, calls us to conſider the Character and Conduct of that hot and indiſcreet Prelate. *Anno* 933.

After a Reign of about ſixteen Years *Æthelſtan*, Son of *Edward* the Elder, and Grandſon to King *Alfred* died, this or the preceding Year, as our Hiſtorians differently relate it, at *Gloceſter*, and was buried at *Malmsbury* in *Wiltſhire*, and has left behind him the Reputation of a Wiſe and Juſt, of a Learned and Valiant Prince, beloved at home, and eſteemed or feared abroad; and by the additions he made to his Dominions, by the Conqueſt of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and forcing *Wales* to yield to a Tribute, he is by ſome reputed the Founder of the Engliſh Monarchy, though others aſcribe that Honour to his Grandfather King *Alfred*, and moſt to *Egbert*. *Anno* 941. *King Æthelſt. dies.*

CHAP. XIX.

Ab Anno 941 ad Annum 969.

SECT. I. EDmund, *Brother to* Æthelſtan, *comes to the Crown:* Odo *Archbiſhop of* Canterb. *Affairs of the Church conducted by him.* Dunſtan *baniſhed a ſecond time.*

II. Odo *ſaid to refuſe the Archbiſhoprick, becauſe not bred a Monk: The grounds of that Story: The uſe the Monks made of that Story.*

III. *The improbability of that Story:* Mr. Creſſey's *Argument for it not concluſive:* Odo *a wiſe and uſeful Prelate.*

IV. *The Conſtitutions of the Archbiſhop* Odo: *Their inconſiſtence with the Notions of Unity: And Schiſm ad-*

advanced by the late Writers of the Romiſh *Church: Some Reflections on thoſe Conſtitutions.*

V. *A Council held at* London: *The Canons thereof: The Death of* Edmund *and Succeſſion of* Edred.

VI. Edred *a bold and active Prince: Settles his Affairs in the North: Impriſons* Wulſtan, *Archbiſhop of* York: *Gives great encouragement to the rebuilding of Monaſteries.*

VII. *King* Edred *dies: Prodigious Wealth ſaid to be given by his Will, to the Clergy and Religious: King* Edwi *ſucceeds: Baniſhes* Dunſtan: *The Reaſons thereof aſſigned by the Writers of his Story.*

VIII. *Conjecture at the true Reaſon of* Dunſtan's *Baniſhment: His Monaſtery of* Glaſſenbury *deſtroyed.*

IX. Dunſtan *aſſiſts* Edgar *in a Rebellion againſt his Brother King* Edwi: *They force the King to part with above half his Kingdom to* Edgar: Edgar *favours the Monks:* Edwi *the Secular Clergy.*

X. Dunſtan *made Biſhop of* Worceſter *by King* Edgar. Odo, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *dies:* Elſin *made Archbiſhop: And on his Death* Brithelm: *The groundleſs Pretenſions of the Monks, that* Dunſtan *refuſed the Archbiſhoprick:* Dunſtan *made Biſhop of* London, *and holds* Worceſter *therewith: Thruſts* Brithelm *out of his Chair, and is made Archbiſhop in his ſtead.*

XI. Dunſtan *forms a deſign to drive the married Clergy out of Cathedrals and Monaſteries, and to bring in Monks.*

XII. *State of the Clergy and Monaſticks till the middle of the Eighth Century.*

XIII. *Monaſteries and Monks generally deſtroyed in the later end of the Eighth and beginning of the Ninth Century: No Monks in* England *in the later end of the Ninth Century: The Clergy generally married.*

XIV. *No Judgment to be made of the ancient* Engliſh *Monks by the late Monaſteries: Secular generally the firſt Poſſeſſors of the* Engliſh *Monaſteries and Cathedrals: The Monks the Uſurpers.*

XV. Edgar's *Character: Reaſons which engaged him in the Deſigns of* Dunſtan, *to expel the Secular Clergy:* Æthelwulph, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *drives the Secular Canons from his Cathedral, and places Monks in their room.*

XVI. Of-

XVI. Oſwald, *Biſhop of* Worceſter, *follows his Example, but meets with great reſiſtance: That Cathedral conſiſted of Seculars from the Foundations thereof: The Biſhops of* Wincheſter *and* Worceſter *join in the deſign of* Dunſtan.

XVII. Edgar *builds many Monaſteries, and grants a Commiſſion to Archbiſhop* Dunſtan, *and the Biſhops of* Wincheſter *and* Worceſter, *to put the Seculars out of the great Monaſteries and Cathedrals, and put Monks in their room.*

SECT. I. THE Death of *Æthelſtan* made way for the Succeſſion of his Brother *Edmund*, a young Prince of about eighteen Years of Age, who entring upon a weak and unſettled Government, met with ſome very rough ſhocks in the beginning of his Reign; for the *Engliſh* and *Danes* inhabiting North of *Humber*, made ſo vigorous and bold an effort, for ſhaking off the Yoke that *Æthelſtan* put upon them, and the recovery of their ancient Liberty, that this Prince met with Difficulties which might have been of fatal conſequence to him; for the pretenſions of *Analafe*, a *Daniſh* Prince, were ſo favoured in the North, that with the Advice of *Odo* and *Wulſtan*, Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, this Prince was forced to yield all that part of *England* which lies North of *Watling-ſtreet*, to the Government of *Anlafe*, (*a*) to be held of him as a tributary and dependant Kingdom. *Anno* 941. Edmund *King of* England.

(*a*) Dunelmenſis X. *Scriptor. Col.* 134.

Odo, a wiſe and active Prelate, was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* when this Prince came to the Crown; by whoſe Councils the Affairs of the Church ſeem to have been conducted under this Reign; in the beginning whereof *Dunſtan*, who had been baniſhed from the Court of his Brother, was recalled by King *Edmund*, and received into Favour at Court; but his aſpiring Spirit ſoon made him ſo many Enemies, that he was baniſhed again before the end of the Year, (*b*) and ſent into *France*, where it is ſaid he retired to the Monaſtery of *Fleury*, and acquainted himſelf with the *Benedictine* Rule; and whether it was from the Paſſion for their Order thoſe Foundations uſually inſpire Men with, or from the natural fierceneſs and impetuoſity of his Temper, upon his re-

(*b*) Osberni *Vit.* Dunſt. *Ang. Sac. Par.* 2. *p.* 100.

turn, that Prelate brought back ſuch Zeal and Paſſion for the Monaſtick Intereſt, as in a little while ſet the whole *Engliſh* Church and Nation into a Flame: And this has given good ground to the Writer of his Life to challenge to *Dunſtan* the Honour of being the reſtorer of the Monaſtick Life; and there is ſuch appearance of truth on the ſide of that pretence, that it might paſs uncontradicted if the Monks of *Canterbury*, and thoſe who contend for the Antiquity of the *Benedictines*, would not break in upon their Claim.

Anno 941. SECT. II. But whatever is ſaid by *Aſſerius*, and ſuch other Writers, who lived in this Century, of the deſtruction of Monaſteries, and the general failing of the Monaſtick Spirit, and what is ſaid by the Writers of St. *Dunſtan*'s Life, of his reſtoring them again, yet the Monaſticks had ſo viſible an Intereſt in keeping the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* amongſt themſelves, that they generally tell us, that when *Odo*, the preſent Archbiſhop, and then Biſhop of *Sherborn*, was invited to accept the Archbiſhoprick by King *Æthelſtan*, and the Biſhops of the Province concurred in that deſire, *Odo* anſwered, that he had never been a Monk, and therefore could not aſſume that Dignity, which by the Cuſtom of *England* had never been poſſeſſed by any, but ſuch as had before made profeſſion of a Religious ſtate (*a*); but being ſtill preſſed, both by the King and Biſhops, he deſired he might firſt take the Habit; and for that end it is ſaid he went to *Gleury* in *France*, (*b*) and that having there received the Habit he returned to *England*, and took poſſeſſion of his Archbiſhoprick (*c*).

(*a*) Osbern *Vit.* Odonis. *Ang. Sac. Part* 2. *p.* 81.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) *Pag.* 82.

This Story has ſuch a taſte of that Vanity and Partiality with which the Monaſticks uſually ſpeak of their own Inſtitutions, that one has much ado to give it any other Authority, than ſuch as their Legends uſually deſerve; yet it is certain, that when *Anſelm*'s ſtiff and untractable Spirit had engaged King *Henry* the Firſt, the Biſhops and Nobility of *England*, in a reſolution never more to ſuffer that great Truſt to fall into the hands of a Monaſtick, the Monks of *Canterbury*, with great aſſurance, pretended that the See of *Canterbury* had never been governed by any other than Men who had taken the Habit.

SECT.

SECT. III. And it is with great warmth that this Opinion has been contended for by all the later Monaſtick Writers; and yet one who looks to the ſtate of *England* when *Odo* came to the Chair, and the ſtate of the Monaſticks in this and the preceding Age, and the contemptible Opinion of thoſe Inſtitutions, which had for more than an Age prevailed, not only in *England*, but in the neighbouring Nations, will find it very difficult to believe otherwiſe of this Matter, than as a Tale of a later make, eſpecially if by Monks be meant Men under Vows, or tied to the Obſervances or Rules of any Religious Order; for it is certain, that theſe were things hitherto little known, and leſs obſerved in *England*, even in that Age when *Bede* makes ſuch heavy complaint of the number of Religious Houſes. (*a*) *Anno* 941.

(*a*) Bed. *Epiſt. ad* Egbert. *pag.* 259.

Nor is there any weight in the Argument of Mr. *Creſſey* (*b*), who ſaith, that Pope *Alexander*, in an Epiſtle to Archbiſhop *Lanfranc*, tells him, that he had found a Conſtitution of *Gregory the Great*, requiring *Auſtin* to place in the See of *Canterbury* Men of the ſame Order himſelf was of; and upon this ground that Writer rudely treats Archbiſhop *Parker*, becauſe the Author of the *Antiquitates Britanicæ* affirms *Laurentius* the Succeſſor of *Auſtin* to be a Secular Prieſt; and yet one who looks into the Model *Gregory* ſent to *Auſtin*, for the Settlement of the *Engliſh* Church, and obſerves how little regard was paid to it in the future Eſtabliſhment, will ſee, that Mr. *Creſſey* had no great reaſon to lay any ſtreſs upon this Argument, if he had been certain of the truth of it; but one who looks into the Model of *Gregory*, as it ſtands in the Works of that Prelate, and in thoſe of *Bede*, will plainly ſee, that *Gregory* expreſſly required, that after the Death of *Auſtin* the See of *Canterbury* ſhould be removed to *London*, and one Conſtitution, requiring, that there ſhould be no more Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* after *Auſtin*; and another Conſtitution, that all the ſucceeding Archbiſhops thereof ſhould be Monks, agree ſo ill together, that one who allows the truth of what is ſaid, of removing the Seat of the Metropolitan from *Canterbury* to *London*, can hardly forbear concluding, the Conſtitution Mr. *Creſſey* lays ſuch ſtreſs upon to be an Impoſture, eſpecially when it appears, that in the 'foreſaid

(*b*) Creſſey's *Ch. Hiſt. An.* 935.

Model

Model there is not one ſyllable of truſting the Archbiſhoprick only in the hands of Monaſticks.

And in truth the ſame Author, to whom the World is obliged for ſo material a diſcovery in favour of the Monks, in the Life of *Dunſtan*, ſpoils the Story he thinks fit to relate in the Life of *Odo*; for whereas he ſaith in the one, that none but Monks have poſſeſſed the Chair of *Canterbury*, in the Life of *Dunſtan* he thinks fit to ſay, that *Dunſtan* was the reſtorer of Monkery, and that the Name of Monks had not been known in *England* for many Years before; and whereas he is ſingular in the former Opinion, he has all our Hiſtorians on the ſide of the latter; and one would think a general failure of the Monaſticks in *England* a good reaſon to conclude, that the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* were not always Monks.

Anno 943. But whether the foreſaid Story be true or falſe, is not very material, eſpecially when the Marks of *Odo*'s wiſe conduct leave us ſomething more conſiderable to recommend him to Poſterity; for thoſe Canons which paſs under the Title of the Conſtitutions of *Odo*, do not ſeem to be the Work of a Provincial Council, but rather appear to be the Advice or Charges of that Prelate, delivered to his Clergy and People in the Viſitations of his Province, by his Metropolitical Power, and publiſhed about this time for the Inſtructions of others, and contain many material Notices and Directions, and theſe freer from the Marks of Superſtition, than could well be expected from the Age he lived in, and for the moſt part ſuch as might well become the greateſt Men in the beſt Ages of the Church; and becauſe theſe give us ſome light into the Diſcipline, Government, and preſent State of the *Engliſh* Church, they will deſerve a more particular Reflection.

SECT. IV. The Conſtitutions of *Odo* are in all Ten,

Anno 943. the firſt whereof aſſerts the Privileges of Churches, and that Taxes ought not to be laid on the Revenues thereof.

2. The ſecond admoniſhes the King and Princes to obey the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, to oppreſs no Man, to adminiſter Juſtice and take care of the Poor.

3. The

3. The third directs the Biſhops to be exemplary in their Lives, diligent in viſiting their Dioceſes once every Year, to preach the truth boldly, to uſe all precaution in inflicting the Cenſures of the Church, and to exert the utmoſt of their Zeal and Care in the Salvation of Souls.

The fourth and fifth direct the conduct of the Lower Clergy, and require that their Lives be exemplary, their Habit and Demeanor decent, and that by their Lives and Doctrine they ſhould ſtudy to win Souls to *Chriſt*.

6. The ſixth requires the Monaſticks to perform their Vows, not to wander from place to place, and to be diligent in attending the Offices of Religion.

7. The ſeventh forbids Inceſtuous Marriages, and the pollution of Nuns.

8. The eighth is a general exhortation to Peace and Unity, grounded on the Unity of the ſame Faith, and the Union of Chriſtians with *CHRIST* the Head, that the Church may be one as *CHRIST* is one.

9. The ninth injoins a due obſervance of the Faſts and Feſtivals of the Church, eſpecially the *Lent* and *Ember* Faſts, the Lord's-Day, Feaſts of the Saints, and gives a particular caution againſt Superſtition and Worſhipping of the Creature inſtead of GOD, and enforces this with the threats of Damnation to thoſe who are guilty of it.

10. The tenth directs the payment of Tythes, and inforces that Duty from the Authority of the Prophets, and the Threats and Promiſes of GOD to the *Jewiſh* Church.

Theſe Advices have ſo much of the Spirit of the beſt Antiquity, that if Judgment were to be made on the preſent ſtate of the *Engliſh* Church, by the Conſtitutions of this Prelate, one muſt neceſſarily conclude, that the Corruptions in Doctrine and Worſhip, which in time became the reproach of the Weſtern Church, had at this time made but a little progreſs in *England*; there would have needed none of this Zeal to recommend the preaching God's Word, if Ignorance had been thought ſo uſeful to the purpoſe of Devotion, as ſome Men have made it; nor would he have ſtated the Unity of the Church, as conſiſting in an agreement in the ſame Faith, Hope, and Charity, and ſubmiſſion to *CHRIST* as the Head,

without ſaying a word of uniting in the external Communion of the Church of *Rome*, if he had been acquainted with ſome modern Notions of Communion and Schiſm; nor have cautioned ſo much againſt Superſtition, or threatned Damnation to thoſe who worſhip the Creature, if the corrupt Practices of the Worſhip of Saints, Reliques, or Images, ſince allowed in ſome Weſtern Churches had been at this time received in *England*.

Anno 944. SECT. V. Nor did the ſhort Reign of King *Edmund*, or the Wars he was engaged in the greateſt part of his time, prevent or take off his Cares from the Church, but following the Steps of his Anceſtors, he called a Council to meet at *London* this Year, conſiſting of his two Archbiſhops, *Odo* and *Wulſtan*, and others his Biſhops and Nobility, where ſeveral Laws, as well for the Regulation and good Order of the State, as the Church, were agreed upon: Thoſe relating to the Affairs of the Church and Religion, were in all but ſix, of which there are ſeveral different Copies and Tranſlations, but what is material in them is as follows (*a*).

(*a*) *Chron.* Brompton X. *Scriptor. Col.* 858. *Concil.* Brit. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 419.

1. The firſt requires that the Clergy and Religious ſhall render themſelves Examples of Holineſs and Chaſtity.

2. The ſecond commands the payment of Tythes and Duties to the Church, and Alms.

3. The third requires, that ſuch Perſons as have been guilty of Murder ſhould give ſatisfaction to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs for the Offence given to the Church, before they preſume to come into the Preſence of the King.

4. The fourth pronounces the Perſon who defiles a Nun unworthy of Chriſtian Burial.

5. The fifth requires the Biſhops to Repair the Churches in their own Demeans and Lands, and inform the King of ſuch others as want Repairs.

6. The ſixth requires, that thoſe who forſwear themſelves, or offer Sacrifice to falſe Gods, be put out of the Communion of the Church. Beſides which, there is another Law of this Prince, directing the manner of Eſpouſals and Solemnities of Marriage.

Whilſt

Whilſt the united Councils of this Prince, his Clergy and Nobility, thus conducted the Intereſt of GOD and his Church, as well as of thoſe of the State, and every thing ſeemed to conſpire to the welfare of both, an unuſual accident put an end to the Life of the King; for that Prince attempting to ſeize a Malefactor, who had audaciouſly thruſt into his Court, was unhappily killed in the attempt; he left behind him two Sons, *Edwi* and *Edgar*, both very young; and whether it was the conſideration of their unfitneſs to ſupport the burthen of the Crown, under an unſettled Government; or whether it was occaſioned by the Ambition and aſpiring Temper of his Succeſſor, the Succeſſion was interrupted, and *Edred*, Brother to *Edmund*, ſucceeded to the Crown. *Anno* 946. *King* Edmund *dies.*

SECT. VI. But whatever the Reaſons of this Proceeding were, it is certain, the ſtate of the Nation required a bold and active Prince, and the Character of this Prince anſwered the expectance of the Nation, the Affairs whereof quickly called him to his Guard, and the unquiet Spirit of that mixt People, who inhabited the North of *England*, ſoon put him under a neceſſity of marching thither with an Army; and in the quieting of that People, and the Victories he obtained over the *Scots*, and the ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment he forc'd them to, he has gain'd the Reputation of a Wiſe and Heroick Prince; and though he was not wanting in a tenderneſs and juſt regard to his Clergy, yet theſe Princely Vertues never ſtood in the way of the Publick Safety; and therefore, notwithſtanding the Reverence he bore to his Character, yet having great reaſon to be aſſured, that *Wulſtan*, Archbiſhop of *York*, encourag'd the Rebellions and Diſorders in the North, he ſeiz'd him, and made him a Priſoner, (*a*) and continued his Confinement for a Year. *King* Edred. *Anno* 946. (*a*) T. Stubbs *de Pontif. Ebor.* X. *Script. Col.* 1699.

And yet he followed the Steps of his Brother, in giving great encouragement to the Monaſticks, and as at the Inſtance of *Turketal* his Chancellor, he granted ſeveral Privileges to the Monaſtery of *Crowland*, and made him the firſt Abbot thereof, ſo he favoured the Zeal of *Dunſtan*, who, by his Brother, had been made the firſt Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*, and made him his Confeſſor, and was directed by him in all his Affairs, and poſſibly his Favours to that Prelate might give the firſt thought to the

the bold effort of *Dunſtan*, againſt the Secular Clergy, but that will be conſidered in its proper place.

Anno 955. SECT. VII. In the mean time the remainders of this Prince's Life wore out ſo faſt, that we hear little more of the Affairs of the Church, till the ſurpriſing and extraordinary Will of this Prince, wherein, as Mr. *Creſſey* (*a*) ſaith from the Annals of *Wincheſter*, this Prince bequeathed to the Church where he ſhould be buried, two golden Croſſes, with as many Images of Gold, and four hundred Pounds in Silver, to the old Monaſtery at *Wincheſter* three Mannors, as many to the new; and the like to the Monaſtery of Religious Virgins there, *&c.* to the Poor one thouſand ſix hundred Pounds, to the Archbiſhop and Church of *Canterbury*, four hundred Pounds, to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and his See the like; to *Dunſtan*, Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*, and his Monaſtery, two hundred Pounds; to the Poor of *Wincheſter* two hundred Pounds; to *Oskitel*, Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, and his Monks, four hundred Pounds; to Biſhop *Wulfhelm*, four hundred Pounds; to the Archbiſhop, two hundred Marks of Gold, and one thouſand two hundred Pounds of Silver; to all his Biſhops an hundred Marks of Gold; to all the Prieſts appointed to celebrate Maſs, and pray for him, fifty Marks of Gold, and five thouſand Shillings; as many likewiſe to all other Prieſts; likewiſe to all other Prieſts pertaining to other Men, who ſhould be ordained to ſay Maſs, and pray for him, thirty Marks of Gold, *&c.*

(*a*) Creſſey's *Ch. Hiſt. An.* 955. *pag.* 849.

One would not think, that ſuch a Will could ever have been made, before the diſcovery of the *Indies*, and yet the 'foreſaid Writer ſeems to give credit to it, and places it amongſt the Proofs of the Piety of King *Edred*. What truth there is in this Matter, I ſhall leave other to judge, and return to what is certain, the Death of King *Edred*, who died the twenty third of *November*, in the Year 955.

King Edred *dies.*

King Edwi November Anno 955.

This change in the State produced another in the Church; for *Edwi*, eldeſt Son to *Edmund*, and Nephew to *Edred*, ſucceeding his Uncle, *Dunſtan* had the common Fate that attends the Miniſters of Princes, whoſe Intereſts and Affections commonly lie ſo croſs to each other, that the ſame Reaſons that fix the Intereſts of Miniſters in one Reign, uſually breaks them in

in another; this was the caſe of *Dunſtan*, for he ſoon fell into diſgrace, and was baniſhed the Court (*a*): But to make him recompence, at leaſt to ſet him right in the Opinion of ſucceeding Ages, the Monaſtick Writers have furniſhed the World with ſuch a reaſon for the diſgrace of *Dunſtan*, as muſt make him an ample recompence in the Opinion of all good Men, if one could be well aſſured there is any truth in it.

(*a*) Osberni *Vit.* Dunſt. *Ang. Sac. Part* 2. *p.*100.

For they tell us that *Edwi*, though but a Youth, ſo intirely abandoned himſelf to the Charms of a beautiful Young Woman, that on the Day of his Coronation, Dinner was no ſooner over, and the King with the Nobility and Biſhops, retired to conſider of the Affairs of the Nation, but *Edwi* preſently withdrew to ſolace himſelf after the Fatigues of the Day, in the Converſation of his Miſtreſs; but the Nobility penetrating the reaſon of this his Retirement, prevail'd upon *Dunſtan* and *Cyneſius*, a Biſhop who was related to that Prince, to enter his Bed-Chamber, where it is ſaid they found the King on the Bed, betwixt *Athelgiva* his Miſtreſs, and her Mother, and that *Dunſtan* taking him by the Arms forced him to put his Crown upon his Head, and to return to the Council-Chamber, where the Biſhops and Nobility were aſſembled (*b*).

(*b*) Osberni *Vit.* Dunſt. *Ang. Sac. Par.* 2. *p.*104, 105.

SECT. VIII. This Relation has ſo much the Air and Spirit which every where appears in the Legend of St. *Dunſtan*, that one has much ado to think it is not all of a piece; but if credit could be given to what is ſaid before of the Will of *Edred*, one could not be to ſeek for another reaſon of *Dunſtan*'s Diſgrace; for dividing the Wealth of the Kingdom amongſt the Clergy, Monaſteries, Poor, and Officers of the Court, and leaving the Crown under the greateſt Neceſſities, are ſuch Inſtances of Male-Adminiſtration, as are enough to break the Intereſts of the moſt able, and otherwiſe faithful Miniſter, and can never be overlooked by thoſe who hope to ſupplant them, nor forgiven by a ſucceeding Prince, who is condemned to ſtruggle under the Miſchiefs of ſuch Councils.

And yet if there be truth in what is ſaid of thoſe mighty Summs, given away by King *Edred*, this muſt be the caſe of King *Edwi*, and he could not but know from whence a Council ſo prejudicial to the Affairs of

his Kingdom had its beginning, *Dunſtan* being both Confeſſor and chief Miniſter under that Prince. And that which ſtill gives more probability to this conjecture, that this was the true reaſon of *Dunſtan*'s preſent Baniſhment is, that the diſpleaſure of the King did not determine in baniſhing *Dunſtan* out of *England*, and rifling of his Monaſtery of *Glaſſenbury*, but extended it ſelf, if the Writers of his Life ſay true, to all the Monaſteries of *England*.

But though interrupting the Pleaſures of a young Prince, or the Revenge of a Woman throughly provok'd, are ſources of Miſchief that know no bounds; yet one who conſiders, that King *Edwi* had for ſome time been kept from the Crown by his Uncle King *Edred*, under whom *Dunſtan* made ſo great a Figure, and compares this with what will be ſaid of the future Conduct of that Prelate, will ſee reaſon to believe, that there was ſomething more in this Affair than can be accounted for by that unlikely Story of that Prince's forbidden Pleaſures, and the Revenge of his Miſtreſs.

Anno 956. SECT. IX. But whatever was the cauſe of *Dunſtan*'s Baniſhment, and the ill Treatments of the Religious, the effects of that Faction in the Court, which forced *Dunſtan* into Baniſhment, were ſuch as give a new ground to ſuſpect we are not fully informed of the true original; for in a little while *Dunſtan*'s Faction in the Court ſpread it ſelf through the Kingdom; and ſo powerful an Intereſt was made for dethroning of King *Edwi*, that all the Midland and Northern Parts of *England* ran into a Rebellion, and ſet up *Edgar*, the younger Brother of *Edwi*, for their King; and after ſeveral Battels forced *Edwi* to fly to *Gloceſter* for his own ſecurity, and to content himſelf with that part of *England* which lies South of the River *Thames* for his Dominions, whilſt the much greater part lying North of that River, fell into the hands of his Brother.

Dunſtan and the Monaſticks generally engaged in the Intereſt of King *Edgar*, the married Clergy on the ſide of *Edwi*, and both were treated accordingly upon the diviſion of the Kingdom; the married had the countenance of *Edwi*, their rightful Prince, within his Dominions, and this added to the Baniſhment of *Dunſtan* ſeems to have given occaſion to the heavy complaints of the Wri-

Writers of *Dunſtan*'s Life, of the Hardſhips the Monaſticks ſuffered under the Reign of *Edwi*, and in particular to what is ſaid by that Writer of the Monaſtery of *Glaſſenbury*; for this Monaſtery falling within the diviſion of *Edwi*, *Dunſtan* who had been made Abbot thereof, in the Reign of *Edred*, and now openly adhered to *Edgar*, and thereby became an Enemy to *Edwi*, was not only diſpoſſeſſed, together with his Monks, but the Houſe was given by King *Edwi* to his Friends.

And it is moſt likely it was this which has blacken'd the Character of that Prince, amongſt all the Writers on that ſide; and probably the ſame reaſon gave beginning to that lewd Story which at once magnifies the Zeal of *Dunſtan*, and repreſents his Enemy as the vileſt and moſt ſenſleſs Miſcreant in the World; at leaſt thus much is certain, that *H. Huntingdon* ſaith of King *Edwi*, that he did not Reign unworthily (*a*). But whatever countenance the married Clergy met with in the Dominions of *Edwi*, the Monaſticks had no leſs favour under his Brother *Edgar*, amongſt whom *Dunſtan* was more particularly diſtinguiſhed, and had ſo many Marks of Favour conferred upon him, as would perſwade one to think he had too great a ſhare in that Revolution which had brought *Edgar* to the Crown, in the Wrong of his Elder Brother.

(*a*) H. Huntingdon. *Hiſt. Lib* 5. *fol.* 204.

SECT. X. But whatever the Reaſons were from whence *Edgar*'s Favours to *Dunſtan* did ariſe, it ſeems probable, that he was the firſt Perſon that was preferred by him, and in all probability before the Agreement about the diviſion of *England*; and whilſt his Party lay under the reproach of Rebellion; at leaſt it appears, that about this time *Edgar* preferred *Dunſtan* to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*. *Anno* 957.

Whilſt the Nation continued in this diſtracted State, *Odo*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* died, and that See lying within the Diviſion of *Edwi*, he conferred that Truſt upon *Elſin*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; but *Elſin* going to *Rome* died by the way, and, as it is ſaid, was ſtarved in his Paſſage over the *Alps*. Upon the firſt notice of his Death, *Brithelm* Biſhop of *Wells*, was tranſlated to *Canterbury*: Both theſe Prelates were great Enemies to the Monks, and Encouragers of the Secular Clergy; and therefore the Monks, who have the telling of their Story, *Anno* 958.

Story, repreſent *Elſin* as a Man who by Money, and by baſe and unworthy Practiſes, raiſed himſelf to the See of *Canterbury*; and that he died under the greateſt Agonies of Horror and Deſpair. *Brithelm* they deſcribe as a Man illiterate, unacquainted with Buſineſs, and altogether unfit for a Truſt of that Importance; and whilſt they thus blacken theſe Prelates, to brighten their great Champion *Dunſtan*, they tell us, that the Archbiſhoprick was offered to him at both theſe Vacancies, and that in great Modeſty he refuſed it both times; and it may be they are equally in the right in all theſe particulars.

For at the time of both theſe Avoidances *Edwi* was alive, and *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, and *Wells* lying within his Diviſion, it is eaſie to ſee the reaſon of the 'foreſaid Nominations; but it is very difficult to imagine, that *Edwi* offered the See of *Canterbury* to one he mortally hated, and to an open and profeſſed Enemy as *Dunſtan* then was; and if there was any need for it, its probable the Character of the two 'foreſaid Prelates might eaſily be cleared; but whether the Modeſty and Humility of *Dunſtan* can ſo eaſily be ſet right, the following circumſtances of his Story give great reaſon to ſuſpect.

Anno 959. *King* Edwi *dies.* By the time that the tranſlation of Archbiſhop *Brithelm* was compleated, *Edwi*, King of that part of *England*, lying South of *Thames*, died the firſt of *November* 959; and this his Death opened a way to the reuniting of the Monarchy, in the Perſon of *Edgar* his younger Brother, and bringing *Dunſtan* to the Chair, which the deſires of his Party, and his own Ambition had before deſigned him to. *Dunſtan* was at this time Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and beſides had the Adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick of *London* committed to his care by King *Edgar*; and that he might not want opportunities to give proof of the great Modeſty, Humility, and tenderneſs of Conſcience the Writers of his Story make him Maſter of, *Brithelm*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was, by his Intereſt, forced to leave his Chair, and with the Character of a Man unfit for buſineſs, was ſent back to his Biſhoprick of *Wells*, and *Dunſtan* was made Archbiſhop in his room: The violence offered to *Brithelm* had doubtleſs made a mighty noiſe in our Story, if the merit of ſuch a Succeſſor had not been thought reaſon enough to

Edgar *Reigns alone.*

Anno 960.

con-

conſecrate every thing that was requiſite to remove the difficulties which ſtood in his way.

SECT. XI. *Dunſtan* being made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* went away to *Rome*, and receiving his Pall returned from thence the Year following: And now his Thoughts are wholly imployed in bringing about the Deſign he had formed before, to force the Canons and Secular Clergy, who were generally married, to forſake their Wives, and accept the Habit of Religion, or elſe quit their Stations in Cathedral Churches, Monaſteries, and Colleges. The King had been firſt raiſed to the Crown by the Monaſtick Intereſt, and therefore was eaſily brought into the Meaſures of *Dunſtan*, and by a quiet and general ſubmiſſion of the Nation to his Government, and a Peace with his Neighbours abroad, he was at leiſure to apply himſelf to ſerve the Purpoſes of that raſh and bigotted Prelate at home. *Dunſtan* could not but foreſee the Difficulties which ſtood in his way, eſpecially from the known Sentiments of the Body of the Biſhops and Clergy, who were generally very averſe to his Undertaking; and therefore his firſt care was to ſtrengthen his Intereſt, by filling the vacant Biſhopricks with Men to his Mind; and the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter* being made void by his Tranſlation to *Canterbury*, at his deſire (*a*) the King conferred it on *Oſwald*, an *Engliſhman* by Birth, but one that had been bred a Monk at *Fleury* in *France*; and in this See firſt, and afterward in that of *York*, this Prelate proved a vigorous Patron of the Monks, and a violent Perſecutor of the Secular Clergy. *Anno* 961.

(*a*) Edmeri *Vit.* Oſwald. *Ang. Sacræ. Part* 2. *p.* 198.

About two Years after, the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* becoming void, it was alſo, by the Interceſſion of *Dunſtan*, conferred upon *Ethelwald*, one who had taken the Habit from the Hands of *Dunſtan*, whilſt he was Abbot of *Glaſſenbury* (*b*). He afterward rebuilt the Monaſtery of *Abingdon*, and was made Abbot thereof, and approved himſelf ſuch as *Dunſtan* expected, a hot and fierce aſſerter of the Cauſe of the Monaſticks: Beſides this, to give ſtill more Life to his Deſigns, *Dunſtan* ſet about the building of ſeveral Monaſteries. Things being brought to this paſs, the deſign which hitherto had been kept as a Secret, now began every where to be made publick. *Anno* 963.

(*b*) Rudborn. *Hiſt.* Winton. *Angl. Sacr. Par.* 1. *p.* 217.

But becauſe this deſign gave a great deal of Trouble and Diſquiet to the preſent Age, and the Controverſy it occaſioned laſted at leaſt two Ages; and when it was determined in practice, by force on one ſide, it took its place, and remains ſtill amongſt the Controverſies in the Church, and yet this Controverſy is very often miſtaken, for want of a juſt knowledge of the ancient and preſent ſtate of the *Engliſh* Monaſteries; therefore to ſet this Matter in its true Light, it will be requiſite to look a little backward, and obſerve what thoſe Monaſteries were which *Dunſtan* contended ſo earneſtly, to put into the hands of the Monks, and what the preſent ſtate of the Seculars and Monaſticks was.

SECT. XII. In the firſt Settlement of Chriſtianity amongſt the *Engliſh*, great care was taken to preſerve a Succeſſion of Men fit to attend on the Offices of Religion; and therefore where-ever an Epiſcopal See was planted, a number of Clergy were uſually ſettled in a ſort of Collegiate Society, partly to attend the Offices of Religion in the Mother-Church, and from thence to be ſent to preach to the adjacent places, as occaſion required; and partly to overſee and train up a Succeſſion of Men, fit to ſucceed in the Offices of their Holy Function; and tho' they were under no Vows of Obedience or Celibacy, yet theſe Societies, which ſeem to be much the ſame with thoſe in our Cathedrals at this Day, paſs in the Hiſtory and Canons of the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Centuries, by the general Name of Monaſteries: And theſe Societies ſeem to be chiefly meant by the greater Monaſteries ſo often mentioned in the Controverſy begun by *Dunſtan*.

Beſides theſe there was another ſort of Monaſteries, erected by the Charities of private Men, to which great numbers of Perſons retired for Study and Devotion, ſome conſiſting all of Men, others of mixt Aſſemblies of Men and Women, ſome whereof, by voluntary Vows, tied themſelves to a ſtate of Celibacy: In this Rank the Monaſteries of *Wiremuth* and *Jarrow* deſerve a place, and ſome other of thoſe Monaſteries which by a ſolemn Dedication from the Biſhops were dedicated to thoſe purpoſes; for by that Mark the Council of *Cloveſhoe* diſtinguiſhes theſe Societies from a third ſort, which that Council calls by the Name of Secular Monaſteries;

ries (*a*); These were so numerous, that *Bede* does again and again complain of their numbers, as of ill consequence to the State, (*b*) and advises that they may be turn'd into the Sees of new Bishopricks, and the Revenues employ'd for encouraging Men to preach the Gospel. Of these Bodies many were married Persons: And so usual was it for these Bodies to be governed by married Persons, that *Bede* saith, scarce a Governour of a Province but begg'd one of these Monasteries for himself, and another for his Wife (*c*).

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1 *pag.* 247.

(*b*) Bed. *Epist. ad* Egbert. *pag.* 260.

(*c*) Ibid.

And that which encreased the number of this sort of Monasteries was, that many of the Nobility affecting this way of living, did, with the leave of their Kings, turn their own Houses into such sort of Societies, receiving Men and Women into their Families; and whilst they lived in Society of their Wives, as other married Persons did, they also supported the Title of Præfects or Governours of Monasteries (*d*). This kind of Monasteries were not dedicated to GOD any otherwise, than by a voluntary setting apart thereof to such Purposes as these aforementioned.

(*d*) Ibid.

SECT. XIII. Thus stood the state of Monasteries in the beginning and middle of the Eighth Century; and thus it continued till the Inundations of the *Danes* had so generally destroyed these Foundations, and indeed the very Monastick Spirit, that in the North of *England*, where those Foundations had been most numerous, and flourished most, they were so generally destroyed about the middle of the Ninth Century, that *Dunelmensis* (*e*) observes, that from that time till the Year 1074, there was not a Monastery in the North of *England*; that the People had not heard of the Name of a Monk, and were frighted at the very Habit; and if this was not altogether the case of other Parts, yet in the beginning of the Tenth Century, the Writer of *Dunstan's* Life saith, (*f*) That the Vows of Poverty and Obedience were not yet in use in *England*, that the Name of Abbot was scarce known, and a Convent of Monks was a thing which had hardly been seen in *England*.

(*e*) Dunelm. *An.* 1074. X *Scriptor.* *Col.* 206.

(*f*) Osberni *Vit.* Dunst. *Ang. Sacra. Part* 2. *pag.* 91.

Nondum enim in Anglia communis ratio vitæ colebatur non usus deserendi proprias voluntates hominibus affectabatur, Abbatis nomen vix quispiam audierat, conventus Monachorum non satis quispiam viderat.

And

And it is very well obſerved by Mr. *Wharton*, (*a*) that the Writer of *Æthelwald*'s Life, *Gervaſius*, *John* of *Tinmouth*, the Manuſcript Chronicle of *Wincheſter*, and *Capgrave* in the golden Legend, do all agree with the Writer of *Dunſtan*'s Life, in what he ſays of the preſent ſtate of the *Engliſh* Monaſteries; and in particular it appears, that *Glaſſenbury* had not at that time ſo much as a Monk in it; but, on the contrary, it being a convenient Retirement, ſome Perſons came from *Ireland* and inhabited there, and taught School, and that, amongſt many others, *Dunſtan* was educated there (*b*).

(*a*) *Angliæ Sac. Part* 2. *p.* 91.

(*b*) Ibid.

As for what remained of the Foundations and Revenues of the ancient Monaſteries, it was ſo intirely poſſeſſed by the Secular Clergy, that it is upon good grounds affirmed by a very Learned and Judicious Antiquary (*c*), that the Monaſteries of *England*, before the Reformation made by *Dunſtan* and *Edgar*, were ſo many Convents of Secular Clergy, who attended the daily Service of GOD in their Churches, and had their local Statutes by which they were governed, but poſſeſſed the ſame liberty of marrying if they pleaſed, as the Members of Collegiate Churches now enjoy.

(*c*) Ibid.

Thus much is certain, that when King *Alfred* had built his Monaſtery of *Athelney*, he was forced to ſend to *France* to find Men to put into it (*d*); and that notwithſtanding all his care that way, they had not Monks enough to perform the Services of the Monaſtery, but were forced to take in Secular Clergy to their aſſiſtance; and, in particular, this was the caſe of *Wincheſter*, tho' under the care of *Grimbald*, (*e*) a Perſon of great Reputation for his Learning and Piety. And this was afterwards the caſe of *Crowland* under *Turketel* (*f*).

(*d*) Aſſerius *de Geſt.* Alfred. *Col.* Camd. *pag.* 18.

(*e*) Rudborn. *Hiſt.* Winton. *Ang. Sac. Part* 1. *p.* 212.

(*f*) Ingulphi *Hiſt. Col.* Gale. *Vol.* 1. *pag.* 41.

But *Alfred* having begun the deſign of erecting Monaſteries in the latter end of the Ninth Century, in the beginning of the Tenth Century, *Dunſtan* rebuilt the Monaſtery of *Glaſſenbury*; *Turketel*, Chancellor to King *Edred*, that of *Crowland*; and not not long after *Æthelwald*, afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that of *Abingdon*; but before theſe Foundations were ſettled, the War betwixt *Edwi* and his Brother *Edgar* not only prevented the Settlement of the 'foreſaid Monaſteries, and hindered the building of more, but did a great deal towards ruining thoſe which had been built in two preceding Reigns; ſo

ſo that when this Controverſy betwixt the Seculars and Monks begun, the Monaſteries then in being were no other than thoſe already mentioned under the Name of Secular Monaſteries; but the Monaſticks having been ſteady in the Intereſt of King *Edgar*, had not only the conduct of his Councils, but all the encouragement the Government could give them: And this gave opportunity to the favourers of that Intereſt to finiſh the foreſaid Monaſteries, and to build ſome other.

But notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, the body of the Nation ſtill retain'd the former Sentiments, and ſeem'd no way to reliſh theſe Proceedings; and therefore this Work went on ſo heavily, notwithſtanding all the Vigour and Zeal *Dunſtan* and the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Worceſter* lent to this Cauſe, that when the over-haſty biſhop of *Wincheſter* thruſt out his Secular Canons from his Cathedral, except from the Monaſteries of *Glaſſenbury* and *Abingdon*, there were not Monks to be had in *England*, (*a*) ſufficient to inſtruct thoſe who came into the room of the deprived Canons.

(*a*) *Hiſtor.* Cœnob. Abbend. *Ang. Sac. Part* 1. *pag.* 166.

SECT. XIV. But thoſe who make their Judgment of the Monaſteries, we are preſently to ſee *Dunſtan* and his Party ſtruggling to obtain by the later Inſtitutions, are apt to run away with an Opinion, that the Foundations called Monaſteries in this and the two preceding Ages, were of the ſame kind; and finding theſe in the poſſeſſion of Secular Canons, are apt to be miſlead into an Opinion, that the Canons were the Uſurpers, and the Monks wrongfully diſpoſſeſſed; but by this Account of this Matter it appears, that the far greateſt part of theſe Foundations were by the Founders themſelves originally deſigned for thoſe who from the time of this Controverſy were known by the Name of Seculars; and that for about an Age preceding they had been univerſally poſſeſt by Perſons of this denomination. And Mr. *Creſſey*, who is no Friend to that Order of Men, owns that the Plea of the Eccleſiaſticks was not altogether groundleſs, becauſe many Mannors and Gifts had, during the laſt Age, been beſtowed on Churches and Places, as poſſeſſed by them, and not by Monks (*b*).

Anno 963.

(*b*) Creſſey's *Ch. Hiſt. An.* 962.

Having ſaid this in order to ſhew the ſenſe of the Church of *England* in that Controverſy about the Marriage of the Clergy, which appears in the general practiſe

of the Clergy, and to ſet the firſt ſteps to that Controverſy in a true light, I ſhall need to add no more, but that the Secular Canons, who were generally married, were in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable Wealth, and then return to obſerve the Methods which *Dunſtan* made uſe of to diſpoſſeſs them.

Anno 964. SECT. XV. *Edgar* was a lewd and vicious Prince, and ſtained the beginning of his Reign with ſo many Inſtances of Luſt and Violence, that Mr. *Creſſey*, who falls very foul on ſome other Writers for the ill Character they give of *Edgar*, gives ſo many Inſtances of his luſtful, fierce, and impetuous Temper, as ſeem to juſtifie the Men he blames, and go a great way in ſpoiling the Character he ſeems deſirous the World ſhould receive of him; and therefore to ſtand ſafe from the Indignation of Writers of the ſame Temper, I ſhall ſay no more of that Prince, than that Learned Writer has done before me, that he purſued his Luſt into the very Monaſteries, and notwithſtanding the Veil and the Vow of the Holy Virgin *Wulfritha*, forced her to his Bed (*a*): And the ſame Year ſlew, (*b*) or at leaſt cauſed to be ſlain, *Æthelwulf* his Secretary, that by his Death he might make his way to the Embraces of his Wife, the beautiful *Elfreda*, who being thus become a Widow, *Edgar* took to his Wife; and the Writers who give him the higheſt *Encomia's* do not only agree in theſe Relations, but add, that *Dunſtan* injoined him a Penance of ſeven Years, which ſhews, either that his Vices were very notorious, or elſe that he was ill-treated by his Confeſſor.

(*a*) Creſſey's *Ch. Hiſt. Ann.* 962. *pag.* 862.
(*b*) *Annal.* Winton. *Ang. Sac. Part* 1. *p.* 290.

If we add to theſe Reflections on the Character of *Edgar*, the Hardſhips which ſo lately fell upon his Brother King *Edwi*, by the Intereſt of *Dunſtan's* Party, and take liberty to remember, that the ſame Intereſt which ſtripped his Brother of the better half of his Kingdom, and brought *Edgar* to the Throne, and in the conduct of that Affair let that Prince ſee, they could both unmake, as well as ſet up Kings, the Zeal of that Prince to oblige the Party of *Dunſtan* may poſſibly be accounted for with more probability, than when it is reſolved into the Piety of the Man; accordingly, amongſt the Penances which the Writer of *Dunſtan's* Life ſaith that Prelate impoſed upon *Edgar*, he was injoined to build a Monaſtery for Nuns at *Shaftsbury*, and to expel out of Churches

Churches ſuch Clergy-men as lived ſcandalouſly, and introduce Monks in their ſtead (*a*).

(*a*) Osberni *Vit.* Dunſt. *Ang. Sacr. Part* 2. *p.* 111

It is not unlikely but that the Clergy had a part in the Ignorance and Vices of the Age; but yet if we interpret their ſcandalous living by the Sentiments of *Dunſtan*, and the Spirit of thoſe Men who place ſuch Perfections in Celibacy, it is evident, that it was not their ill Morals, but their being married that is the ſcandalous living which is here laid to their charge: But from whatever reaſon the Zeal of King *Edgar* againſt the Secular Clergy had its beginning, *Dunſtan*, and *Æthelwulf* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, the great Enemies thereof, had the higheſt Marks of his Favour, and were the great Miniſters of State, and ſo well aſſured of his Protection and Aſſiſtance, that without any farther delay, *Æthelwulf*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, this Year, turn'd out of the Church of *Wincheſter*, all the Canons who refuſed to turn Monks (*b*): And not content with this Inſtance of his Zeal, he not only began the building of ſeveral Monaſteries within his Dioceſs, but he obtained a Grant of *Edgar* of all the Sites of thoſe Religious Houſes which had been deſtroy'd by the *Danes*; and by vertue of this Grant he reſtor'd the Monaſteries of *Ely* and *Peterborough* (*c*).

(*b*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 963.

(*c*) Ibid.

SECT. XVI. *Oſwald*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, moved ſlower, but whether that was owing to the Temper of the Man, or to the Reſolutions of the Canons of his Church is hard to determine. It is certain, he found them on the ſame bottom on which they had at firſt been founded: They had been Seculars from the beginning, (*d*) and therefore having Law and Right on their ſides, probably did not eaſily part with their Right. However, *Eadmer*, Writer of that Prelate's Life, ſaith, that after many fruitleſs Admonitions to the Canons to take the Habit, *Oſwald* ſeeing they continued obſtinate, forced them to quit their Relation to the Cathedral Church; and not content to bound his Zeal there, he carried it into his Dioceſs, and diſpoſſeſſed the Canons of the Monaſtery of *Perſhore*, and ſix other Monaſteries within his Dioceſs; but it ſeems probable, that the Canons of *Worceſter* gave him ſo many Obſtructions, and paid ſo little regard to the Sentences he had paſſed upon them, that he could not force them from their Houſes, and the

Anno 969.

(*d*) *Succeſſio priorum Eccl.* Wigorn. *Ang. Sacr. Part* 1. *pag.* 546.

the Cathedral, till he had built a new Cathedral, and an Houſe for the reception of the Monks.

And that though he began it ſooner he was not able to perfect his Deſign till about the Year 971, when he ſettled his Monks under the Government of a new Prior (*a*); and about that time he obtained that Grant for the endowment of his new Monaſtery, the Lands wherein contained being exempted from the Secular Authority, and ſubjected intirely to the Government of *Oſwald*, has probably given occaſion to applying the Title and Name of *Oſwald's Law* (which properly related to the 'foreſaid Privileges granted to the ſaid Prelate) to the Edict or Law of *Edgar*, by which the Seculars were expelled the Church of *Worceſter*, but probably without any other reaſon than this, that in the ſame Charter in which *Edgar* granted thoſe Lands, he alſo confirm'd the change which *Oſwald* had made in thruſting out the Canons, and bringing in Monks in their ſtead.

(*a*) Ibid.

What was done by other Biſhops, in the proſecution of this deſign, does not appear; but by the ſilence of the Monkiſh Writers, who never omitted to celebrate Performances of this kind; by the omiſſion of their Names in all the Acts of *Edgar*, wherein the Names of Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, and the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Worceſter* are always mentioned; and by the mighty Intereſt the Seculars afterwards made, there is great reaſon to conclude, that except the 'foreſaid Prelates the Biſhops did not come into the Intereſt of *Dunſtan*; and if they did not dare openly to oppoſe it, did at leaſt ſecretly diſlike it, and encourage the other ſide; and it is probable it was their diſlike, and Favours to the Seculars, which clogged the Work of *Dunſtan*, and made it move ſo ſlowly.

For the Writers of his Life do not ſo much as tell us, that he drove the Seculars out of *Canterbury*; but, on the contrary, it ſeems highly probable, that although Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* ſet forward the raſh and precipitate Zeal of the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Wincheſter*, that he did not dare to follow their Examples in his own Cathedral; for it appears by an Epiſtle of *John* the Thirteenth, inſerted in the Hiſtory of *W. Thorn* (*b*), that the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury* was poſſeſſed by Secular Canons in the Year 957; and the ſame Writer ſaith, they

(*b*) *Chron.* W. Thorn. X *Scriptor. Col.* 1778.

they were diſpoſſeſſed, and Monks introduced in the Year 1005 (*a*): Nor did that Controverſy end there; for the Secular Canons were ſo far from acquieſcing in their expulſion, that it is very evident they eſteemed it unjuſt, and the effect of violence, and were ſo favour'd in their pretence by the Civil Power, that about ſixty Years after the forefaid Expulſion, we find them attempting to regain their Right, and drive out the Monks; and ſo powerful an effort was made for their Reſtoration, that Archbiſhop *Lanfrank* was forced to ſend to *Rome*, and call in the Power of Pope *Alexander* to the Aid of the Monks (*b*).

(*a*) Ibid.

(*b*) Lanfranci *Epiſt. Lib. Epiſt.* 4. *pag.* 302.

SECT. XVII. However, that Party had ſuch an aſcendant over King *Edgar*, that his Treaſure and Power ſeem to have been intirely at their diſpoſal; and they were ſo profuſe in the uſe they made of his Wealth, that no leſs than ſeven and forty Monaſteries were built and endowed by him, and he intended to have made them up fifty; ſo that it is not unlikely, that his laviſhing the Wealth of the Crown, in repairing, building, and endowing of Monaſteries, did, by impoveriſhing the Kingdom, help on thoſe Miſeries, which not long after his Death the Nation ſuffered from the *Danes*. However, without looking forward, that Party made ſo good uſe of the Favours of that Prince, that they obtained leave from him, to put out the Canons of all the greater Monaſteries and Cathedral Churches throughout *England*, and to place Monks in their ſtead (*c*).

(*c*) M. Weſtm. *An.* 969.

And when their own Power proved inſufficient, they obtained a Commiſſion, directed to Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, the Biſhops of *Winchester* and *Worceſter*, (*d*) to make uſe of the King's Power to bring about their Deſign. And at the delivery of this Commiſſion to them, in a Speech celebrated by all the Monkiſh Writers, *Edgar* ſpeaks ſo reproachfully of the Secular Clergy, and in terms ſo unbecoming the uſual gentleneſs and good Manners of a Prince, as would almoſt tempt one to think the Speech was *Dunſtan*'s, rather than his own; but whoever was the Author of it, 'tis exceedingly magnified by ſome of our Writers, and ſo is the whole conduct and addreſs of King *Edgar*; but they who are unanimous in the Applauſes of that Prince have given us his Story in ſuch confuſion, that it is impoſſible to put it together in due order of time.

Anno 969.

(*d*) Hoveden. *Annal. An.* 969.

CHAP. XX.

Ab Anno 969 ad Annum 1001.

SECT. I. EDgar's *Eccleſiaſtical Laws ſettle a Parochial Right of Tythes: His Canons enjoin Parents to teach their Children the Creed and Lord's-Prayer.*

II. Dunſtan's *Courage in puniſhing an Offender, and reſiſting the Commands of the Biſhop of* Rome *to abſolve him.*

III. Edgar *dies, and* Edward *ſucceeds: Great Complaints againſt* Dunſtan *by the Secular Clergy, a Council meets at* Wincheſter *on that occaſion: The Seculars generally favoured by King* Edward, *and the Biſhops and Nobility:* Dunſtan *by a pretended Miracle carries his Point.*

IV. *This pretended Miracle gains no credit, but the Seculars are in many places reſtored.*

V. *Several Councils occaſioned by the Controverſy betwixt Seculars and Monks: Council at* Calne, *where the Floor falls: This aſcribed to Miracle by ſome, to Magick by others.*

VI. *King* Edward *murdered:* Ethelred *ſucceeds: He no Friend to the Monks:* Dunſtan's *Deſign at a ſtop, during the Reign of this Prince.*

VII. Æthelwald, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter *dies: The Seculars and Monks contend for the Succeſſion:* Dunſtan *carries it in favour of the former:* Dunſtan *dies: The Character the Monks give of him: The long Controverſy betwixt the Monks of* Canterbury *and* Glaſſenbury, *about his Body.*

VIII. Ethelgar, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *ſucceeds* Dunſtan, *and* Siricius *him:* Oſwald, *Archbiſhop of* York, *and Biſhop of* Worceſter, *dies: Practice of holding two Biſhopricks begun by the Monks: They the breakers of the Diſcipline of the Church.*

IX. *Councils of this Age imployed in ſettling the Revenues of the Church,* &c. German *and* French *Clergy married.*

X. *Doctrine*

X. *Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation unknown to the Church of* England: *Obſervations of* Monſieur du Pin, *on the Writings of* Elfric, *confirm this Opinion.*

XI. Elfric, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury: *Miſerable ſtate of the Nation: The Reaſons thereof:* England *becomes Tributary to the* Danes.

XII. *Miſeries the* Engliſh *Nation ſuffered by the* Danes, *aſcribed by ſome to the encreaſe of the Monaſteries: The ground of that conjecture.*

XIII. Engliſh *forced to purchaſe their Peace with the* Danes: *Encreaſe of Monaſteries in* England *ever followed by great Miſchiefs to the King and Kingdom.*

SECT. I. ALthough the Monaſtick Inſtitutions did too much exhauſt the Zeal of King *Edgar*, yet the Marks he left of his concern for the common Intereſts of Religion, will deſerve to be remembred; for to ſay nothing of his Laws, which relate to Civil Affairs, his Eccleſiaſtick Laws and Canons are ſuch as might become a Prince poſſeſſed with a juſt ſenſe of the Honour of GOD. His Laws are but ſix: Of which, *Anno 969.*

1. The firſt not only requires the payment of Tythes, but ſeems to ſettle the Right of Parochial Tythes, or at leaſt to ſettle a proportion thereof on the adjacent Church.

2. The ſecond gives us the true nature of the *Cyric-Sceat*, and determines it to be a ſtated Payment, ariſing from every Freeman's Houſe: And ſhews how Tythes ſhould be paid, where there is a Church that has a Burying-place; and, on the contrary, where the Church has not a Burying-place.

3. The third appoints the time when Tythes ſhould be paid.

4. The fourth, the Remedy in caſe of neglect of the two following.

5. The one requires the payment of *Peter-Pence.*

6. The other the obſervance of the Lord's-Day.

The Canons which paſs by the Name of *Edgar*'s Canons, are too numerous to be repeated, and are already extant

extant in *Spelman's* and *Labbe's* Collections of the Councils; and although ſome thereof taſte too much of the Age, yet for the moſt part they are ſuch as might very well become the beſt of the preceding Ages: But amongſt the reſt I cannot omit to take notice of the ſeventeenth and twenty ſecond; the former of which requires every Chriſtian to teach his Children the Creed, and the Lord's-Prayer; and the later forbids any one to undertake the Office of a Godfather, or receive the Sacrament, before they have learnt them; and denies him Chriſtian-burial who perſiſt in his ignorance thereof: Rules that have ſuch Marks of a Spirit truly Chriſtian, as ought to reproach the coldneſs and indifference, and provoke the Piety of ſucceeding Ages.

Annis 970. 971. SECT. II. And it is not unlikely, that *Dunſtan* had the Care and Overſight of that Collection; for the fierceneſs and natural warmth of that Prelate, which led him out of the ways of Pity and Charity, and even Juſtice it ſelf, in purſuit of the Seculars, had a bright, as well as dark ſide, and where he had the good luck to place it well, made him an uſeful Inſtrument in puniſhing of Vice, and fitted him to maintain the Dignity of the Character he ſupported. And he had about this time an occaſion offered him to do both; for a certain Count having, by an Inceſtuous Marriage, deſerved the Cenſures of the Church, *Dunſtan* did right to his Station and Character, in putting the Offender under an Excommunication; the Count complained to the King, but that availing nothing he ſent an Agent to *Rome*, where Pope *John* the Thirteenth was prevailed upon to ſend his Brief to Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, wherein he both commanded and intreated him to abſolve the Count, and receive him into the Church: To which *Dunſtan* anſwered, "That if he could ſee the Offender Penitent, "he would willingly obey the Command of his Holineſs; "but GOD forbid that I ſhould permit him, whilſt "he continues to wallow in his Sin, to be diſcharged "from the Church's Cenſures, and inſult over me; and "GOD forbid that for regard to any Mortal Man, or "for ſaving my own Life, I ſhould ſuffer the Law of "*CHRIST* to be violated (*a*).

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 970.

This is ſaid to have paſſed in a Council this Year, and to excuſe a Conduct of *Dunſtan*, which agrees ſo ill

ill with the late Opinions of the Power of the Biſhops of *Rome*: *Baronius* pretended, that the Command of the Pope was grounded on a ſuppoſition of the Repentance of the Offender; but it is certain, that if he had been Penitent he needed not to have gone to *Rome* for an Advocate; and yet it may be this is the beſt colour ſo evident a contempt of the Papal Power is capable of: But when all that is ſaid, this Example of *Dunſtan*, and the Conduct of *Edgar* in the Affairs of the Church, the Title he aſſumed to himſelf of the Vicar of *CHRIST*, (*a*) and the Power of St. *Peter*'s Sword, which he aſcribes to his Biſhops, as he does that of *Conſtantine* to himſelf, (*b*) put it beyond a doubt, that the Supremacy of the King, and the independance of the Church of *England* on that of *Rome*, were things not yet brought into diſpute.

(*a*) Edgari *Leges Concil.* Britan. *Vol.* 1. *pag.* 438.
(*b*) Edgari *Oratio* Eadm. *pag.* 162. Ed. Selden.

SECT. III. But whether *Dunſtan* was as juſt to his Clergy, as he was to the Authority of his See, was by this time become a mighty ſubject of debate; for it was not a little ferment which the violence of his Proceedings, and the heavy Complaints of the oppreſſed, and ruined Eccleſiaſticks, had by this time ſpread over the whole Nation; and *Edgar* the great ſupport of their Oppreſſors, dying this Year, they had great reaſon to hope, that ſome way would be found out to accompliſh their Relief.

Anno 975.

King Edgar *dies.* Edward *the Martyr begins his Reign* Anno 975.

Beſides this unhappy Affair, which made a mighty diviſion in the Nation, the Death of the King gave occaſion to a new diſpute about the Succeſſion to the Crown; for *Edgar* had two Wives; by *Elfleda*, the former of them, he had a Son named *Edward*; by *Ælfreda*, the latter of his Wives, a Son named *Ethelred*: *Ælfreda* ſurviving her Husband, pretended that *Edgar* was not lawfully married to *Elfleda*, and therefore ſet up the Pretenſions of her own Son. Theſe two Affairs of the Succeſſion, and the Diſpute betwixt the Eccleſiaſticks and Monks, occaſioned the calling of a Council, which met at *Wincheſter*. *Dunſtan* and his Party favoured the Pretenſions of *Edward*, and notwithſtanding the Pretence on the other ſide, the Right was ſoon adjudged to *Edward*, and he was crowned King.

The other Affair was debated with great warmth on both ſides, and not without many and ſevere Reflecti-

ons on *Dunſtan*, till at leaſt the reaſon of the Eccleſiaſticks ſo far prevailed, that it is ſaid, the Council generally agreed in deſiring *Dunſtan* that the Canons might be reſtored to their places again (*a*); but whilſt a general ſilence was kept in the Aſſembly, expecting what Anſwer the Archbiſhop would give, of a ſudden the Image of our Lord upon the Croſs, which was faſtned in the Room, is ſaid to have uttered theſe words, *It muſt not be, it muſt not be, you have ordered things well, you ſhall do ill to change them*: This, as the ſame Writers ſay, filled the Council with Conſternation, and gave occaſion to the Archbiſhop to ſay, *My Brethren what would you have more, you have heard the preſent Affair decided by the Divine Sentence* (*b*).

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 492.

(*b*) Eadmeri *Vit.* Dunſt. *Angl. Sacr. Part* 2. *p.*219.

Anno 975.

SECT. IV. This Story is told with very different circumſtances; the *Saxon Chronicle* makes no mention of this Council; and *Florentius*, who remembers the Council makes no mention of the pretended Miracle of the Image; ſome place this Council in the Reign of *Edgar*, others at this time; yet they who agree in ſcarce any other particular, for the moſt part agree in that which looks moſt like Impoſture: Such care was there taken to ruine ſo many Families, and redouble their Miſery, by charging their Oppreſſion upon GOD, and depriving them of the common ſupports of Pity and Commiſeration, which the Compaſſions of Humane Nature uſually intitle the Miſerable to.

But whatever credit this Impoſture of the ſpeaking Crucifix may have met with in after Ages, the following Tranſactions ſhew it had no great Reputation in the preſent; for the Clergy were ſo far from acquieſcing in this pretended miraculous deciſion, that the Controverſy which had hitherto been confined to words, quickly after, or which is more likely, this very Year was managed in another manner; for now the Nobility, tired with the Artifices and dilatory Proceedings of *Dunſtan*, betook themſelves to another courſe, and without any more ado drove out the Monks by force, and reſtored the Secular Clergy to their ancient Stations (*c*).

(*c*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 975. *Et* Florent. Wigorn. *An.* 975.

But though our Writers ſpeak of this change in ſuch general Terms as might lead one to think otherwiſe of it, it ſeems probable, that the Monks both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern parts of *England* kept their Houſes; and that

that this change chiefly extended to the Midland Parts of *England*, where *Oſwald*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and now both Biſhop of that See, and Archbiſhop of *York*, had formerly diſpoſſeſſed the Seculars; as for the Northern Parts of *England*, from the Devaſtation made by the *Danes* in the middle of the Ninth Century, till after the middle of the Eleventh, they had not ſo much as one Monaſtery, and did not, as *Dunelmenſis* ſaith, know what a Monk meant (*a*); beſides, they had been engaged in Controverſies of a rougher nature, ever ſince *Dunſtan* came to the See of *Canterbury*, and therefore had little ſhare in this Diſpute; in this reſtoration of the Secular Clergy, *Elfer*, a Prince of the *Mercians*, was more particularly active, (*b*) as *Ethelwin*, a Duke of the *Eaſt-Angles*, was in oppoſing it.

(*a*) Dunelm. *An.* 1074. X. *Scriptor* Col. 206.

(*b*) Florent. Wigorn. *An.* 975.

SECT. V. And as the 'foreſaid Council thus divided the *Engliſh* Nation, and produced a ſort of a Civil War, the War did in its turn produce new Councils; one of which is ſaid to aſſemble at *Kirtlington*, but the Tranſactions of that Council are as little known as the place it ſelf. A ſecond Council is ſaid to have been held at *Calne* in *Wiltſhire*, where things are ſaid to have ended ſo much to the advantage of the Monaſticks, and to the Honour of *Dunſtan*, that it muſt not be paſſed by in ſilence. The Matter was briefly this: The 'foreſaid unhappy Controverſy having occaſioned ſo much Violence and Blood, and in probability like to determine in a Civil War, a Meeting at *Calne* was agreed upon, to find out ſome Temper which might end, or at leaſt quiet this Affair; but whilſt the Matter was under debate in that Aſſembly, and the Heat ſeemed to be equal on both ſides, and neither ſide inclined to yield, of a ſudden the Timber which ſupported the Floor gave way, and except the main Beam, ſunk under the weight of this great Aſſembly; but *Dunſtan*, by good Fortune, happening to ſtand over the main Beam (*c*), this prevented his falling, whilſt all the reſt of the Aſſembly fell with the Floor, which ſunk under them, and ſome were killed, and many others maimed and wounded (*d*).

Anno 977.

(*c*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 978

(*d*) Ibid.

And the Judgments which have been made of this Accident, have been more ſurpriſing than the Accident it ſelf; for whilſt ſome of the Favourers of the Monks crow over this ſad Accident as a miraculous Teſtimony to

to their Cauſe, and have fondneſs enough to talk big of it, as if this Inſtance of Providence, the reaſon whereof is unſearchable, was a Teſtimony from above of GOD's Favour to the Monks; on the other ſide, there are ſome who run into the contrary extream, and reſolve it into Magick, and charge it upon *Dunſtan*; but if the Matter of Fact be true, it is ſo eaſy to account for the falling of an over-loaded Floor, without the help of a Miracle, or the Art of Magick, that the Paſſion and Partiality on both ſides ſeem to have a very equal Title in their Pretenſions to our Belief; but to whatever Cauſe this is to be aſcribed, it is very evident, it ſignified nothing as to the iſſue and conſequence of this Diſpute; for it only interrupted, but did not end the Diſpute; but it ſeems moſt probable, that Accident occaſioned the remove of the Council to *Ambresbury*, and that this was the occaſion, and this the buſineſs of that Council, which *Florentius* and *Jorualenſis* affirm to have been held there this Year.

Anno 978. SECT. VI. However this Matter ſtands, *Dunſtan* and his Party loſt more by another Inſtance of the unaccountable Methods of GOD's Providence within this Year, then they gained by that which is related in the laſt; for it pleaſed GOD to permit the King to be ſtabbed and murdered by the appointment of his Mother-in-law *Ælfreda*, and this gained that Prince the Title of *Edward the Martyr*, but put the Government in the hands of *Ethelred* the Half-Brother of King *Edward*, and Son of *Ælfreda*, which our Monkiſh Writers pronounce an Enemy to *Dunſtan* and his Party; this Prince was yet but a Youth of about twelve Years of Age, and upon that Account unfit to ſupport the burden of a diſtracted State; and which was more, in the Opinion of *Dunſtan*'s Friends, he was in the hands of the oppoſite Party; and this gave *Dunſtan* a great deal of Mortification in putting the Crown upon his Head. However, he did his Duty, and aſſiſted by *Oſwald*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and ten other Biſhops, performed the Ceremony of his Coronation, at *Kingſton*, the fourteenth Day of *April*, 978.

King Edward *murdered.*

Ethelred *ſucceeds*, Anno 978.

But the Legendary Writers who have ſeldom either Meaſure or Wiſdom in their Favours, but heap upon their Saints every thing that looks great in their own Eyes,

Eyes, tell us, that though *Dunſtan* did his Duty to this young Prince, yet he Prophetically told him, that ſince he had, by the Death of his Brother, aſpired to the Crown, the Sword ſhould not depart from his Family till the Kingdom ſhould be given to another (*a*); and yet for all this, this Prince poſſeſſed the Throne for thirty ſeven Years, which is, it may be, the longeſt Reign that is to be met with before the *Norman* Conqueſt.

(*a*) Osberni *Vit.* Dunſt. *Ang. Sac. Part* 2. *p.* 113.

What progreſs *Dunſtan* made in his Deſign againſt the Seculars, during the remainders of his Life, does not appear; but it ſeems probable, that Affair continued in the ſtate it was in at the Death of King *Edward*; and indeed, within a few Years after the acceſſion of *Ethelred* to the Crown, the Depredations of the *Danes*, who had given ſo much trouble to the preceding Age, begun again; and it ſeems probable, that this put a ſtop to Diſputes about the Diſcipline of the Church; and therefore having firſt remark'd, that the Parochial Clergy had no ſhare in that unhappy Controverſy, that the Diſpute at preſent was not, whether it was, or was not lawful for the Clergy to marry; but whether the Cathedrals and Monaſteries ſhould be poſſeſs'd by Secular Canons, who were generally married, or by Monks who profeſſed Celibacy; accordingly, in all the Diſputes, it was not the Marriage, but the diſſolute Lives of the Canons that was objected againſt them; and, on the other hand, the Holineſs of the Monks was the great Argument on their ſides; and therefore diſmiſſing this Controverſy till we meet with it again in a new Dreſs in the Twelfth Century, it will be time to return, and inquire into the Affairs of the Church, under the new Reign of King *Ethelred*.

SECT. VII. About this time died *Æthelwald*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whoſe Death gave a great deal of pain to the new Colony of Monks, (*b*) which he had placed in his Cathedral Church, and raiſed the hopes of the Seculars he had diſpoſſeſſed, and both ſides plied their Intereſts for the Succeſſion, the former in hopes to fix themſelves, the others in proſpect of being reſtored (*c*). According to theſe different Views, whilſt the Monaſticks ſollicited for the Succeſſion of a Monk, the Eccleſiaſticks laboured to put that Truſt into the hands of a Secular; but *Dunſtan*, who had alſo a great ſhare in the loſs of

Anno 984.

(*b*) Eadmeri *Vit.* Dunſt. *Ang. Sac. Part* 2. *p.* 221.

(*c*) Ibid.

this Prelate, could not overſee an Intereſt which lay ſo open; and therefore made all his Intereſt for *Elphegus*, Abbot of *Bath*, who ſucceeded the ſame Year in the See of *Wincheſter*, to the Joy of the Monks, and the great diſappointment of the Eccleſiaſticks.

Anno 988. After *Dunſtan*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had filled that Chair about twenty ſeven Years, he died this Year, leaving behind him the Title of the Father and Reſtorer of the *Engliſh* Monks, who, to give them their due, have been wanting in no kind of Honour or Gratitude they were capable of paying to his Memory, which they have celebrated in ſuch extravagant Strains, as if all the Perfections in the World were centred in a Zeal for, and eſteem of thoſe Inſtitutions: Nor did their Honours ſtop at the Memory of this Prelate, but deſcended to his very Aſhes, and in time gave occaſion to ſuch notorious Impoſtures, as one of his Succeſſors thought himſelf obliged to expoſe and condemn. The occaſion was this: The Corps of *Dunſtan* was buried at *Canterbury*; yet about the Eleventh Century, the Monks of *Glaſſenbury* pretended that ſome Monks of that Abby had privately ſtolen from *Canterbury* the Bones of that Prelate, and carried them to *Glaſſenbury*, where great Devotions were paid to them by the People, and great Miracles ſaid to be wrought by them.

This bold pretence ſo alarmed the Monks of *Canterbury*, that *Eadmer*, (*a*) one of that Body, was imployed to ſhew their Miſtake; and in an Epiſtle of his to this purpoſe, about the Year 1124, to the Monks of *Glaſſenbury*, he tells them, that the Coffin in which the Body of *Dunſtan* was laid, was intire in the time of Archbiſhop *Lanfrank*, when, by reaſon of a Fire which happened in the Church of *Canterbury*, it was, in the preſence of a great concourſe of People, removed and depoſited in another place (*b*).

(*a*) *Epiſt.* Edmeri *ad* Glaſſen. *Ang. Sac. Part* 2. *pag.* 222.

(*b*) Ibid.

Notwithſtanding this, the Monks of *Glaſſenbury* pretended, that for an hundred Years they had been in poſſeſſion of *Dunſtan*'s Bones; and as they maintained that pretence, ſo they continued undiſturb'd in their veneration to the pretended Bones, till the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, when they cauſed a new Shrine to be made, (*c*) wherein they pretended, that the Bones of *Dunſtan* were Inſhrined, and mighty Devotions and great

(*c*) *Epiſt.* W. Warham. *Archiep.* Cant. *Ang. Sac. Part* 2. *p.*229.

great Oblations were paid to this new Shrine. This was ſo open and ſcandalous an Impoſture, to ſay no more of it, that Archbiſhop *Warham* took a great deal of pains to confute it; and, in order thereunto, cauſed the Grave of *Dunſtan* to be opened, the twentieth of *April* 1508, where the Coffin of that Prelate was found entire, and therein ſuch of his Bones, and all the unwaſted remains of his Fleſh, which were not conſumed with time; and having cauſed the Truth of this diſcovery to be duly atteſted, ſent his Certificate thereof, together with a Letter of his own, to the Abbot of *Glaſſenbury* (*a*).

(*a*) Ibid.

But notwithſtanding this, the Abbot and Convent perſiſted in their pretence; and inſtead of ſuppreſſing the Impoſture, they anſwered the Archbiſhop, that if it were true which His Grace had ſaid, yet if they ſhould forbear ſhewing his Bones to the People, and forbid their worſhipping them, they ſhould be guilty of Sacrilege againſt the Saint, and the boldeſt wickedneſs againſt GOD: *For*, ſays the Abbot, *whoſoever ſhall ſee the daily concourſe of People, without their Cloaths, and barefooted, daily praying, would, without doubt, ſay to us, what is ſaid by* Gamaliel, *in the fifth of the* Acts, *Let theſe Men alone, leaſt perhaps ye ſeem to fight againſt GOD.*

Quicunque enim preſens cerneret aſſiduum concurſum populi, veſtibus exuti, nudis pedibus, quotidie ſupplicantis, diceret nobis, proculdubio, id quod Actum quinto à Gamaliele dictum legitur, ſinite illos ne forte & Deo repugnare videamini. *Epiſt. Abbat. Glaſſen. Ang. Sac. Part* 2. *p.* 230.

Thus was their Sin made the reaſon for the continuance of it, ſo hard is it to ſet Men right when Superſtition and Intereſt happen to be on a ſide.

SECT. VIII. This is ſo deplorable an Inſtance of the corruption of the *Engliſh* Church, that one cannot think on it but with Sorrow, nor relate it without Regret; and it had not been inſerted here, but to caution the Reader not to be forward in crediting Men who abandon themſelves to Superſtition and miſtaken Inſtances of Zeal and Holineſs, and to give him a taſte what he might expect, could one permit ones ſelf to mark out the extravagancies which paſs for Hiſtory amongſt ſome Men. *Anno* 988.

This being ſaid of Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, it will be time to return to the Affairs which ſucceeded upon his Death: *Ethelgar*, late Abbot of the new Monaſtery in *Wincheſter*, and at this time Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſucceeded to the Chair of *Canterbury* the Year following, but

but dying the ſame Year, our Hiſtorians are not agreed who ſucceeded, ſome confidently pronouncing in favour of *Siricius*, others of *Elfricus*; but a late Learned Antiquary determines poſitively on the ſide of *Siricius* (*a*).

(*a*) *Anglia Sacra. Pars* 1. *p.* 103.

The great Friend of *Dunſtan*, and the fierce Enemy of the Eccleſiaſticks, *Oſwald*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and Biſhop of *Worceſter*, did not long ſurvive *Dunſtan*, but dying this Year, *Aldulf*, Abbot of *Peterborough*, ſucceeded in both thoſe Sees, a Corruption, as *Monſieur du Pin* well obſerves, which had its original in this Age (*b*); and in *England* was begun by the Patrons of the Monaſticks; *Dunſtan* firſt led the way, holding at once the Biſhopricks of *Worceſter* and *London*, and was followed herein by the two forementioned Prelates, a Practice which would have been thought an unpardonable Irregularity amongſt the Ancients; but whether it was, that they had not Men that they could truſt in thoſe Stations, or whether it was, that the unaccountable Zeal for the Monaſtick Inſtitutions, could not be carried on without ſuch helps, or the Ambition they are ſo forward to blame in other Men, that occaſioned this irregular Practice, is not eaſy to determine.

(*b*) Du Pin's *Eccl. Hiſt. Cent.* 10. *p.*68.

Nor did the Monks only break through the Diſcipline of the Church, but broke in upon that Order, to whom the care of GOD's Church was principally committed, and to raiſe themſelves above the place their Predeceſſors had held in the Church, gave beginning to thoſe Practices and Opinions which leſſened that Apoſtolick Inſtitution of Biſhops; for one the leaſt converſant in the Eccleſiaſtick Story cannot but obſerve, that it was the Monaſticks which firſt broke in upon the veneration, the beſt Ages of the Church ever paid to that Order of Men; and in time not only withdrew themſelves from the Obedience due to their Biſhops, but uſurp'd a great part of their Power, inſulted their Perſons and their Order, and broke the meaſures of Government, eſtabliſhed by the beſt Ages of the Catholick Church; but though the obſervation of the Learned *Du Pin* has led me thus far, it will be time enough to conſider this Matter particularly, when we come to relate the Diſturbances they gave to the whole Weſtern Church, in ſetting

ſetting up Pretences to be exempted from the Authority of their Biſhops.

SECT. IX. But I cannot end my Reflections on this Century, without making the ſame obſervation of the Church of *England* in particular, which *Monſieur du Pin* (*a*) does of this Century in general, that the Church had little trouble from Doctrinal Diſputes in this Age; but her Councils were chiefly employed in the Settlement of Tythes, in cenſuring thoſe who uſurp'd the Revenues of the Church, and in prohibiting the Marriages of near Relations; and I muſt add, ſome of them in diſcountenancing the Marriage of the Clergy; for ſo I ſuppoſe that Writer means by cenſuring Churchmen who kept Concubines; and yet, notwithſtanding all the Zeal that was ſpent in diſcountenancing the Marriage of the Clergy, in an Epiſtle of Pope *Leo* the Seventh (*b*), it appears, that the *French* and *German* Clergy of this Age were generally married. And *Mezeray* ſaith of the *French* Clergy in the preceding Age, that for the moſt part it was Lewdneſs, not Chaſtity, that made ſome of them omit it; for that the beſt of the Clergy were thoſe that married (*c*).

(*a*) *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent.* 10. *pag.* 68.

(*b*) *Concil. Tom.* 9. Lab. *Col.* 698.

(*c*) Mezeray *Life* Charlem. *pag.* 112.

Notwithſtanding what *Monſieur du Pin* had obſerved before, of the freedom of this Age from Diſputes about Matters of Faith, he obſerves from the Writer of the Life of *Odo*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that there were ſome Clergymen in *England*, in this Century, who poſitively affirmed, that the Bread and Wine on the Altar retained the very ſame Subſtance after Conſecration; and that they were only the Repreſentations of the Body and Blood of *JESUS CHRIST*, and not his Real Body and Blood; but upon a Prayer of *Odo*, that GOD would ſhew the very Subſtance of thoſe Myſteries, ſome drops of Blood iſſued out of the Conſecrated Bread (*d*), which, ſays *Monſieur du Pin*, from that Author, ſo convinced thoſe who doubted of the Real Preſence of the Body of *JESUS CHRIST* in the Euchariſt, that they abjured their Error (*e*). But it is well obſerved by the Learned Annotator on the Life of *Odo* (*f*), that *Oſbern*, the Writer thereof, was the Dependant and Creature of Archbiſhop *Lanfrank*, who laboured to introduce the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation* into *England*; and this gives great probability to the Opinion of that

Anno 992.

(*d*) Osberni *Vit.* Odonis *Ang. Sac. Part* 2. *p.* 83.

(*e*) Du Pin *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent.* 10. *Chap.* 6. *p.* 66.

(*f*) *Angliæ Sac. Part* 2. *p.* 82.

Learned Antiquary, that the 'foreſaid Story was a Fiction of *Osbern*, deſigned to give the Reputation of Antiquity to the new Doctrine of *Lanfrank*.

SECT. X. So that if the 'foreſaid Learned Hiſtorian had thought fit to abide by his former Obſervation, or have carried it further, and ſaid, that the Clergy of *England* in this Age, denied the Corporal Preſence, and have paſſed by this Story of *Odo*, his Hiſtory would have agreed better with it ſelf, and with the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, and his Obſervation would have been much more ſutable to the Candour and true Judgment which are the diſtinguiſhing Excellencies of that Learned Writer; for, in all probability, the Controverſy about the Preſence of *CHRIST* in the Sacrament had hitherto made no Impreſſions on the *Engliſh* Church; but as they continued in the ancient Doctrine, there is no doubt but they continued the ancient way of ſpeaking of the Holy Elements; and therefore we cannot expect to hear any thing of Tranſubſtantiation; for they who pretend to the Antiquity of that Doctrine, cannot but own that the Mode and Form of ſpeaking, uſed by *Paſchaſius*, and thoſe who followed him in this Controverſy, were before unknown to the Chriſtian Church, at leaſt not uſed therein.

And ſo much that Learned Author owns to be confeſſed by the Learned *Mabillon*, whoſe words he quotes to that purpoſe (*a*); certain it is, that *Odo*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, died about the Year 956; and if the 'foreſaid Miracle before that time had determined in favour of the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, one would not have expected, that Homilies appointed to be read in the Church of *England*, fifty Years after; and theſe, if *Monſieur du Pin* be not miſtaken, compoſed by *Ælfrick*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſhould aſſert a Doctrine directly contrary to the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; and yet this was the caſe, if that Author himſelf be not miſtaken.

(*a*) Du Pin's *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent.* 9. *p.* 71.

And indeed, however the 'foreſaid Writer of *Odo*'s Life may pretend, that the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation was received in his Time in *England*, the Account of *Ælfrick*'s Works, from *Monſieur du Pin* himſelf, will give great reaſon to think, that it was unknown in *England*, in the beginning of the Eleventh Century; therefore it will

will be fit to defer the conſideration of this Controverſy till that time, and return to obſerve the Tranſactions which conclude the preſent Age.

SECT. XI. And here we have a Story ſo jejune and empty, that excepting what is ſaid of the Death of *Sigeric*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the advancement of *Ælfrick* to his Chair in the compaſs of this Year, there is little or nothing one can challenge to the Hiſtory of the Church, whilſt thoſe of the State have, GOD knows, a great deal too much; and yet the advantage is on the ſide of the former; for the Hiſtorians of the State have nothing to remember, but what we have reaſon to wiſh had never been, the Deſolation, and Miſery, and Shame of our Country; for the *Danes* about this time burnt our Cities, laid waſte the Country, and filled the Nation with Rapines, Maſſacres, and Blood. *Anno* 995.

And as if GOD had not thought this Puniſhment enough to the *Engliſh* Nation, nor his Vengeance had its full Meaſure, without our Anceſtors becoming Parties to their own ſhame and undoing, he gave them up to Sloth and Folly, to Treachery and Falſhood: And thus they broke their own Meaſures, blaſted their Deſigns, and defeated their own Arms; and inſtead of a bold and generous defence of themſelves, they gave the *Danes* great Summs to buy their Peace, or, I ſhould rather ſay, to buy their undoing; for this reproachful evidence of their want of Courage, ſtill drew new Enemies upon them, and brought them to ſuch a paſs, that in the beginning of the next Century they were forced to compound, and yield to pay a yearly Tribute to the *Danes* and *Norwegians*.

SECT. XII. And it is not without grounds, that ſome of our Hiſtorians aſcribe the wretched Defence of the *Engliſh*, and their diſhonourable Submiſſion, to that Zeal for the Monaſtick Inſtitutions, which had exhauſted the Wealth of the Nation, and emaſculated her People (*a*). Certain it is, that theſe are Cauſes which have a natural tendence to ſuch Effects; and when the ſame Spirit prevailed in *England* in the beginning of the Eighth Century, *Bede* did not ſtick to ſay, that it rendred ſo many Men unfit for Arms, that there was reaſon to fear, there would not be Men enough to defend their Country, (*b*) and the event was anſwerable; for before the end *Anno* 996.

(*a*) Brady's *Hiſt. Eng.* *pag.* 122. *A.*

(*b*) Bed. *Epiſt. ad* Egbert. *pag.* 260.

end of that Century, the *Danes* and *Norwegians* had ſettled themſelves in *England*; and by the time that *Alfred* came to the Crown, which was in the Year 872, they were in a manner Maſters of all *England*.

But the Writer of that Prince's Life obſerves, that about that time, that King *Alfred* came to the Crown, the Monaſteries of *England* were not only generally ruined, but alſo, that the *Engliſh* Nation was become ſo averſe to the Monaſtick Life, that when that Prince had built a Monaſtery, he was forced to ſend to *France* and *Flanders* to get Men to fill it: The reaſon of this one would not pretend to ſay; but it is evident, that from that time a warlike Spirit begun to revive in the *Engliſh* Nation; inſomuch, that during the Reign of that Prince, they beat the *Danes* in ſo many Battels, that before the end of this Prince's Reign the greateſt part of them were driven out of *England*, and the remainder forced to accept of ſuch Terms of Submiſſion as that Prince thought fit to give them.

Thus ſtood the Affairs of the *Engliſh* at the Death of King *Alfred*, in the Year 900; and in ſome tolerable quiet did things continue for about forty Years after, about which time the Monaſtick Spirit revived again; and in a courſe of about forty Years continuance, the Building, Endowing, and Adorning of Religious Houſes drew away a great deal of Wealth, and deprived the Publick of abundance of uſeful Perſons; and which is, it may be, more than all the reſt, influenced the Publick Councils, and turn'd the Spirit of the Nation to ſuch ſort of Pilgrimages and Penances, as might raiſe the Honour of thoſe Foundations, but did, at the ſame time, call Men to Sloth and Eaſe, and the neglect of warlike Diſcipline and Order.

Anno 999. SECT. XIII. If theſe were not the immediate Cauſes of the Miſeries which at this time overſpread the *Engliſh* Nation, certain it is, that after this Monaſtick Spirit had thus prevailed for about forty Years, the *Danes* and *Norwegians* made new Attempts upon *England*; and, about the Year 991 had a Summ of ten thouſand Pounds given them by the *Engliſh* to obtain their Peace; about three or four Years after they had ſixteen thouſand Pounds; and about the Year 1002, the Summ of four and twenty thouſand Pounds, and a Yearly Tribute; the

the Year 1007, thirty ſix thouſand Pounds; the Year 1012 forty eight thouſand Pounds; and ſix Years after, ſeventy two thouſand Pounds, and all to buy their Peace.

In ſhort, from the latter end of this Century, till the *Norman* Conqueſt, *England* was a Contempt and a Prey to the *Danes*, the *Norwegians*, and the *Normans*; and was never able to defend it ſelf, till the *Norman* Revolution put the defence of *England* out of the hands of the *Engliſh*; and it is ſo evident, that when the *Norman* Vigour had ſpent it ſelf, and the Monaſtick Spirit grew up again, the ſtrength of the Nation was ſo viſibly weakened thereby, that the Outrages offered to *Henry* the Firſt and Second, to King *John*, and the Inſults and Contempts the Kings of *England*, for ſeveral Ages, received from *Rome*, were, if not intirely, yet chiefly owing to that Spirit which made ſo much of the Wealth of *England*, and ſo many Men uſeleſs to the Crown, and drew ſo great an Intereſt into the hands of a Foreign Power.

Though I have digreſſed thus far, to ſhew that it is not without grounds, that our late Hiſtorians aſcribe the Miſeries which about this time fell upon *England*, to the Monaſtick Spirit, and the conſequences thereof; yet the Methods of Providence are ſo unſearchable, that one muſt not pretend to penetrate the Secrets GOD has reſerved to himſelf; therefore, without pretending to fix the reaſons of thoſe Calamities which ſo long exerciſed the Patience of the *Engliſh* Nation, I ſhall content my ſelf to purſue the Steps and Motions thereof, and leave to other Men the Honour of aſcertaining the Reaſon and Occaſions of thoſe heavy Judgments.

CHAP. XXI.

Ab Anno 1001 ad Annum 1027.

SECT. I. KIng Ethelred *marries* Emma, *Siſter to the Duke of* Normandy: Ælfrick, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *compos'd a Body of Homilies.*

II. *Homilies of* Ælfrick *received into the Church, and appointed to be read: The neceſſity thereof: The ſubject of the Sermon for* Eaſter-Day *is the Holy Sacrament.*

III. *The Controverſy about that Holy Rite, occaſioned by the figurative way of ſpeaking uſual in the* Eaſtern *Nations.*

IV. Paſchaſius's *new way of ſpeaking of the Sacrament: Begins the Controverſy on that Subject in the* Weſtern *Church:* Patramus *writes againſt him.*

V. Scotus *employed to write on the ſame Subject: Church of* England *had no ſhare in this Controverſy.*

VI. *Doctrine of the Church of* England, *as ſtated in the Homily of the Sacrament, contrary to that of Tranſubſtantiation.*

VII. *Agreement betwixt this Sermon, and the Book of* Ratramus: *The Canons and Prayers of the Church of* England *agree with the Homilies.*

VIII. *Keeping of the Elements conſecrated on* Eaſter-Day: *And alſo private Maſſes forbid by the Church of* England: *The Reaſon of that prohibition.*

IX. Ælfrick, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *attempts to perſwade the Clergy to renounce their Wives: He thruſts the married Canons out of the Cathedral of* Canterbury.

X. *A Council meets at* Engſham: *The occaſion and reſult of that Council.*

XI. *The Fleet and Army of King* Ethelred *come to nothing:* Swane, *King of* Denmark, *forces* Ethelred *to ſend the Queen and his Sons to* Normandy, *and at laſt to fly thither himſelf.*

XII. Swane *dies:* Ethelred *recalled, and reſumes his Kingdom: He dies.*

XIII. Ca-

XIII. Canutus, *King of* Denmark, *received as King of* England: *The* Engliſh *Line put by the Crown.*

XIV. Canutus *Crowned by* Lyving, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury: *Grants great Privileges to the Church and See of* Canterbury: *Chriſtianity corrupted by the Converted* Danes.

XV. Canute *forced to make Laws againſt Idolatry and Superſtition: Pilgrimages, Viſiting Shrines, and a great Zeal for Reliques prevail: Theſe Corruptions occaſioned by the imperfect Converſions of the* Danes.

SECT. I. KIng *Ethelred* had reigned about two and twenty Years when this Century begun; but his Reign had been one continued Scene of War and Embroilment; and ſo far had he and his Nobility abandoned themſelves to Sloth and Trifling, that his Views were at this time very unpromiſing; however, that he might not be altogether wanting to his Intereſt, his Queen *Elgiva* dying, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by a Marriage about this time, with *Emma*, Daughter to *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, hoping by the Intereſt of that Prince, to put a ſtop to the Attempts of the *Danes*; but this promiſing Expectance came to nothing; on the contrary, that Match opened the way to the ruine of his Poſterity, in the Conqueſt of the *Normans*. *Anno* 1001.

But amidſt the Diſtractions of the State, GOD was pleaſed to raiſe up ſome conſiderable Men in the Church, amongſt whom *Ælfrick*, at this time Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, has deſervedly the firſt place; and if he be not miſtaken, for that *Ælfrick* who was Archbiſhop of *York*, ſome time after, and the Works of the latter applied to him, he was the greateſt *Engliſhman* that had ever filled that Chair: But a late very Learned and Judicious Antiquary (*a*) in his Diſſertation on that Subject, gives great reaſon to think, that the Writings of *Ælfrick*, known by the Name of the *Grammarian*, and the Compoſer of the Sermons and Canons which paſs under the Name of *Ælfrick*'s, were the Works of the later *Ælfrick*, or *Alfricus Putta*, who was made Archbiſhop of *York* about the Year 1023; but notwithſtanding the Reaſons of that Learned Writer to the contrary, the former *Ælfrick*, at this time Arch- *Anno* 1002.

(*a*) *Anglia Sacra. Pars* 1. *p.* 125.

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, has generally had the Honour of being thought the Compiler of the 'foreſaid Works.

Anno 1003. SECT. II. But what is paſt diſpute is enough to my preſent purpoſe, without entring into Controverſy, to whom the Honour of compoſing the Sermons aforeſaid does belong; for when the Performances of private Men are received into a Church, and by the Authority thereof take place amongſt the publick and ſtanding Offices of that Church, the Doctrines contained therein are no longer the Sentiments of private Men, but are to be reputed the Doctrines of that Church, which by that reception renders it ſelf accountable for them. This I take to be the caſe of that Affair the order of time calls me to remember.

Anno 1003. The Miſeries the *Engliſh* Nation had for ſome time groaned under, had occaſioned ſo general a decay of Learning, that the inferior Clergy were not thought fit altogether to be truſted with the Inſtruction of their People; and therefore, the better to provide againſt the dangers which might ariſe, either from their Neglect or Inſufficiency, courſes of Sermons, or Homilies, containing an Account of ſuch Doctrinal Points and Practical Duties as were moſt neceſſary for their Belief and Inſtruction, had from time to time been received into the Church: It is probable this was the caſe of thoſe Homilies, which had been collected by *Alcuinus* in the Eighth Century, and are yet extant in the Works of that Learned Writer; and, in the beginning of this Century, a great number of Homilies, compoſed by *Ælfrick*, who, for his great Merit, had been advanced to the See of *Canterbury*, were appointed to be read in the Churches of *England*, amongſt which there is a Sermon or Diſcourſe on the Bleſſed Sacrament, which was appointed to be read in Churches on *Eaſter-Day*, the better to prepare the People for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament.

And becauſe this Sermon gives us the beſt view of the preſent ſenſe of the Church of *England*, as to the Doctrine of the Holy Sacrament; and it is with mighty aſſurance, that the Advocates of Tranſubſtantiation plead Antiquity, and charge the preſent Church of *England* with departing from the ancient Church, it will

will be requiſite to ſet this Matter in its true light; and, in order thereunto, to look a little backward, and obſerve the riſe and motions of this Controverſy, and then one may be able to judge on which ſide the Novelty lies.

SECT. III. The better to convey to the Minds of Men, a juſt Idea of things inviſible, the Eaſtern Nations made great uſe of the objects of Senſe; and this occaſioned the Parabolical and Figurative way of ſpeaking, which is viſible in all the Eaſtern Writers; accordingly our Bleſſed Saviour, to give his Diſciples a right apprehenſion of the Offices he was to perform, ſometimes calls himſelf the Shepherd, the Vine, the Way, the Truth, the Life, and the Reſurrection, and the Bread which came down from Heaven; and continuing the ſame way of ſpeaking, when he Inſtituted the Holy Sacrament, he called the Elements of Bread and Wine, his Body and Blood; but if the commoneſs of this way of ſpeaking had not put it out of doubt, what he meant, it was impoſſible for thoſe who were Eye-witneſſes to this Inſtitution, and ſaw his natural Body before their Eyes, to conceive that *CHRIST* meant, or that they did eat the Body which was ſitting at Table with them. *Anno* 1003.

And therefore though the firſt Ages continued the ſame way of ſpeaking of the Holy Elements, and when there was occaſion for it, ſpoke of that Holy Inſtitution with the moſt profound Reverence, and the higheſt Expreſſions of Love and Devotion; yet whenever they explained the manner of *CHRIST*'s Preſence in that Sacrament, they ever ſpoke of it as all the Eaſtern Nations muſt neceſſarily underſtand it as figurative and relative.

SECT. IV. This way of ſpeaking was continued down to the Ninth Century, when *Paſchaſius*, a Monk, and after Abbot of *Corbey* in *France*, undertaking to explain the manner of *CHRIST*'s Preſence in the Holy Sacrament, introduced a way of ſpeaking before unknown to the Chriſtian Church; and inſtead of ſaying as the Ancients had ever done, that the Holy Elements were the Figures of *CHRIST*'s Body and Blood, which were really, and to all thoſe Holy Purpoſes to which our Lord deſigned them, preſent in the Holy Sacrament, but under the Veil of material Bread and Wine, *Anno* 1003.

he preſumes thus to expreſs himſelf: "That although "in the Sacrament there be the Figure of Bread and "Wine, yet we muſt believe it after Conſecration, to "be nothing elſe but the Body and Blood of *CHRIST*: And explaining himſelf he adds, "It is no other Fleſh "than that which was born of *Mary*, ſuffered on the "Croſs, and roſe again from the Grave.

Sirmondus, who, as Biſhop *Uſher* obſerves, aſſerts this to be the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, does yet own, that *Paſchaſius* began this way of ſpeaking (*a*); and *Mabillon* follows him in that Opinion (*b*); however that be, it is certain, that Opinion of *Paſchaſius* gave great Offence to the Church of *France*; and by the appointment of *Charles the Bald*, *Ratramus*, a Monk likewiſe of the Abby of *Corbey*, wrote an Anſwer to *Paſchaſius* (*c*), or rather to the Queſtion of that Prince upon the occaſion thereof; the Queſtion was, Whether the Body and Blood of *CHRIST*, which in the Church is received by the Mouth of the Faithful, be celebrated in a Myſtery, or in the Truth? and whether it be the ſame Body which was born of *Mary*, which did Suffer, was Dead, and Buried, and which riſing again, and aſcending into Heaven, ſitteth at the right Hand of the Father?

(*a*) Uſher's *Anſwer to the Jeſuits Chall. pag.* 74.

(*b*) Du Pin's *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent.* 9. *p.* 71.

(*c*) Ratrami *Lib. de Corpor. & Sanguin. Chriſt. Præf. pag.* 4. *Ed.* Lond.

The Queſtion being thus ſtated by *Charles the Bald*, *Ratramus* returned this Anſwer, "That the Bread and "Wine are the Body and Blood of *CHRIST* figura-"tively (*d*); that for the Subſtance of the Creatures, "that which they were before Conſecration, the ſame "alſo are they afterward; that they are called the Lord's "Body and Blood, becauſe they take the Name of that "thing of which they are the Sacrament; and that there "is a great difference betwixt the Myſtery of the Blood "and Body of *CHRIST*, which is now taken by the "Faithful in the Church, and that which was born of "the Virgin *Mary*, which ſuffered, which was buried, "which roſe again, which ſitteth at the right Hand of "the Father.

(*d*) Ratrami *pag.* 14.

Anno 1003. SECT. V. It ſeems probable, that *Johannes Scotus* was likewiſe by the ſame Emperor ingaged in this Controverſy; and yet whilſt this Controverſy made a noiſe, and gave ſome diſquiet to the Church of *France*, about the middle of the Ninth Century, it ſeems very probable, that

that the Church of *England* had no ſhare in it; but, on the contrary, that it continued quiet, in poſſeſſion of the ancient Doctrine, till the latter end of this Century, when *Lanfrank* firſt introduced the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*. In the mean time, to judge truly of the preſent ſenſe of the Church of *England*, it will be requiſite to return to the Homily of *Ælfrick*, which occaſioned this digreſſion.

A courſe of Sermons being compoſed or turned into *Engliſh* by that Prelate, the ſubject of that Sermon which was appointed to be read to the People of *England* on *Eaſter-Day*, was the Holy Sacrament, where we may expect the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, if it was at this time the Doctrine of the *Engliſh* Church. This Homily is ſtill in Manuſcript in the publick Library of *Oxford*, and in the Library of *Bennet-College* in *Cambridge*, and was long ſince publiſhed in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and ſince both in *Saxon* and *Latin* by Mr. *Wheelock*, in his Edition of *Bede* (*a*); however, becauſe it is not common, and will enable us to make a Judgment of the preſent ſenſe of the Church of *England* in this particular, it may be worth the labour to tranſcribe, at leaſt ſo much as relates to this Controverſy from that Copy, followed by the Learned Primate of *Ireland*, where the words of the Homily run thus (*b*).

(*a*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt* pag. 462.

(*b*) Uſher's *Anſwer to the Jeſuit*. p. 77.

SECT. VI. 'The Bread and Wine which by the 'Prieſts Miniſtry is hallowed, ſhew one thing without 'to Mens Senſes, and another thing they call within to 'believing Minds; without they be ſeen both Bread 'and Wine in Figure and in Taſte, and they be truly, 'after their hallowing, *CHRIST*'s Body and his Blood 'by Spiritual Myſtery; ſo the Holy Font-Water is cal-'led the Well-Spring of Life, is like in ſhape to other 'Waters, and is ſubject to corruption, but the Holy 'Ghoſt's Might cometh to the corruptible Water, thro' 'the Prieſt's Bleſſing, and it may after waſh the Body and 'Soul from all Sin by Spiritual Vertue; behold now we 'ſee two things in this one Creature in true Nature, 'that Water is corruptible Moiſture, and in Spiritual 'Myſtery hath Heavenly Vertue; ſo alſo if we behold 'that Holy Houſel after bodily ſenſe, then ſee we that 'it is a Creature corruptible and mutable, if we ac-'knowledge therein Spiritual Vertue, then underſtand 'we

Anno 1003.

'we that Life is therein, and that it giveth Immortality 'to them that eat it with belief; much difference is be- 'twixt the Body *CHRIST* ſuffered in, and the Body 'that is hallowed to Houſel.

'The Body truly that *CHRIST* ſuffered in was born 'of the Fleſh of *Mary*, with Blood and with Bone, with 'Skin and with Sinews, in human Limbs, with a reaſo- 'nable Soul living, and his Spiritual Body, which we 'call the Houſel, is gathered of many Corns, without 'Blood and Bone, without Limb, without Soul, and 'therefore nothing is to be underſtood therein bodily, 'but ſpiritually.

Anno 1003. 'Whatever is in that Houſel which giveth ſubſtance 'of Life, that is Spiritual Vertue and inviſible doing, 'certainly *CHRIST*'s Body which ſuffered Death, and 'roſe from Death, ſhall never die henceforth, but is 'eternal and unpaſſable, that Houſel is temporal, not 'eternal, corruptible, and dealed into ſundry parts, 'chewed between Teeth and ſent into the Belly: This 'Myſtery is a Pledge and a Figure, *CHRIST*'s Body 'is Truth it ſelf; this Pledge we do keep myſtically 'until we come to the Truth it ſelf, and then is this 'Pledge ended: *CHRIST* hallowed Bread and Wine 'to Houſel before his Suffering, and ſaid, *This is my 'Body and my Blood*, as he before did in the Wilderneſs, 'before that he was born to Men, when he turned that 'Heavenly Meat to his Fleſh, and the flowing Water 'from that Stone to his own Blood: *Moſes* and *Aaron*, 'and many others of that People which pleaſed *GOD*, 'did eat that Heavenly Bread, and died not the ever- 'laſting Death; though they died the common, they 'ſaw that heavenly Meat was viſible and corruptible; 'and they ſpiritually underſtood by that viſible thing, 'and ſpiritually received it.

Anno 1003. SECT. VII. In this Homily we ſee what the ſenſe of the Church of *England*, was at this time concerning the Preſence of *CHRIST* in the Sacrament; and if this Homily be compared with the Diſcourſe of *Ratramus*, it will appear that the late Learned Primate of *Ireland* (*a*), and ſince him *Monſieur du Pin*, (*b*) have rightly obſerved, that *Ælfric* has the ſame Notions, and in many places the ſame Arguments and Words that were before made uſe of by *Ratramus*. And this leads one a little

(*a*) Uſher's *Anſwer to the Jeſuit. p.* 77.
(*b*) Du Pin's *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Cent.* 10. *p.* 66.

little further to obſerve the Agreement betwixt the Churches of *France* and *England*, in this particular: And it is well obſerved, by the Learned Primate, that as the Church thus taught her People, the Canons aſcribed to *Ælfric*, of the ſame date, ſhew us what theſe Inſtructions were which ſhe delivered to her Clergy in the Synodical Meetings of the Biſhops. And in an Epiſtle directed to *Wulfſine*, Biſhop of *Sherborne*, we read thus (*a*), (a) Uſher's *Anſwer to the Jeſuit. p.* 79. 'That Houſel is *CHRIST*'s Body, not Bodily, but 'Spiritually; not that Body which he ſuffered in, but 'the Body of which he ſpake when he bleſſed Bread 'and Wine to Houſel, the Night before his Suffering, 'and ſaid by the Bleſſed Bread, *This is my Body*; and 'again, by the Holy Wine, *This is my Blood which is ſhed 'for many in forgiveneſs of Sins.*

And another Diſcourſe of the ſame date, directed to *Wulfſtane*, Archbiſhop of *York*, is to this effect (*b*); (b) Ibid. 'The Lord which hallowed Houſel before his Suffering, 'and ſaith, that the Bread was his own Body, and that 'the Wine was truly his Blood, halloweth daily by the 'hands of the Prieſt, Bread to his Body and Wine to his 'Blood in ſpiritual Myſtery, as we read in Books, and 'yet notwithſtanding that lively Bread is not bodily ſo, 'nor the ſelf-ſame Body that *CHRIST* ſuffered in, 'nor that Holy Wine is the Saviour's Blood which was 'ſhed for us in Bodily Thing, but in Spiritual Underſtanding; both be truly that Bread his Body, and that Wine 'alſo his Blood, as was the Heavenly Bread, which we 'call Manna, that fed forty Years God's People, and the 'clear Water which did then run from the Stone in the 'Wilderneſs, was truly his Blood, as *Paul* wrote in one 'of his Epiſtles.

Thus ſaith the Learned Primate (*c*), were the Prieſt and People taught to believe in the Church of *England*, towards the end of the Tenth, and in the beginning of the Eleventh Age. And in another Canon of *Ælfrick*, concerning the degrees of the Clergy, (*d*) the ſame thing is again repeated. And in an Epiſtle of the ſame Prelate to his Clergy on the ſame ſubject, he again tells them, ſpeaking of the Holy Euchariſt, 'This Sacrifice is not the 'Body in which *CHRIST* ſuffered 'for us, nor the Blood which he ſhed

(c) *Ejuſdem, pag.* 80. *Anno* 1004.

(d) *Canon Sax. Mſs. Bib. C. C. C. fol.* 294.

(a) *Non ſit tamen hoc Sacrificium corpus ejus quo paſſus eſt pro nobis, nec ſanguis ejus, quem pro nobis effudit, ſed ſpiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur & ſanguis.* Epiſt. Ælfrici ad Sacerdotes. M. S. Coll. C. C. Cant Hickeſii Theſaurus. p. 109.

'for us, but it is made his Body and Blood ſpiritually.

And a Prayer uſed in the Communion-Service, was anſwerable to the ſenſe the Church of this Age entertain'd of that Holy Rite, where the Prieſt was obliged to pray in this Form: 'We beſeech 'thee Almighty GOD, that him whom 'we behold in a Figure, and under a- 'nother Form, by whom we are Sa- 'cramentally fed here in Earth, that 'through him we may ſee him Face to 'Face, and deſerve truly and really to enjoy him in 'Heaven.

Concede quæſumus omnipotens Deus ut quem ænigmatice, & ſub aliena ſpecie cernimus, quo ſacramentalitur cibamur in terris, eo ſicuti eſt veraciter, & realiter frui mereamur in cælis per eundem. Amen. Hickeſii Theſaurus. Cod. Ang. Sax. Bibliothecæ Bodlianæ 101.

Anno 1004. SECT. VIII. Nor was the Church of this Age thus careful to ſet her People right in the Doctrine of the Sacrament, but alſo to prevent the Abuſes which ſome miſtaken Opinions had run ſome of her Clergy into, relating to the Elements themſelves, and the manner of celebrating the Holy Euchariſt; therefore, as the Canons of this Age (*a*) take notice of a Superſtitious Opinion amongſt ſome Men, of a more particular Vertue and Efficacy in the Elements conſecrated on *Eaſter-Day*, which led ſome of the Clergy to keep them till they became mouldy, or rotten, or were eaten by the Mice; ſo they expreſly forbid this Practice, and condemn the Opinion on which it was founded, declaring that there was no difference betwixt the Elements conſecrated on *Eaſter-Day*, and thoſe conſecrated at other times (*b*).

(*a*) *Canones* Ælfrici *Mſs. fol.* 282.

(*b*) Ibid.

There was another Practice more injurious to the end of that Holy Inſtitution, which for ſome time had been growing up in the Church of *England*, and which about this time the Church endeavoured to cure; and this was, a Practice of private Sacraments uſed in ſome places, when they wanted Company to Communicate with the Prieſt; but that Holy Inſtitution being not only intended as a Seal of the Covenant betwixt GOD and Man, but alſo as a Symbol of Communion and Good-Will amongſt Men: The Church of *England* was particularly careful to ſtop the growth of this irregular Practice. That Inſtance of this her care, which the order of Time calls me now to relate, is grounded upon a Canon of the *Saxon* Church, in that Collection of Canons remaining in *Bennet-College* Library, and probably the Work of this Age, and of the preſent Archbiſhop

biſhop of *Canterbury*: The ſeventy fifth is Intituled, a Canon concerning them who preſume to ſing Maſs alone, contrary to the Canons of the Church, and this Canon at once confutes and forbids that irregular Practice, and requires, 'That no Prieſt alone preſume 'to celebrate Maſs; for, ſaith that Canon, the words of 'our Saviour, who inſtituted the Sacrament of his Body 'and Blood, the Directions of St. *Paul* relating to that 'Inſtitution, and the Uſage of the Apoſtles, allow no 'ſuch practice.

'Beſides, ſaith that Canon, how abſurd is it for the Prieſt 'to celebrate the Sacrament of *CHRIST*'s Body and 'Blood, when the Prieſt, for want of Company cannot ſay, '*The Lord be with you*, and there is no body to anſwer him, '*And with thy Spirit*; or for whom does he pray when he 'ſays, *Lord remember thy Servants, and thy Handmaids, and 'all the Congregation*, when there is no body preſent: And then concludes, 'That this Cuſtom was 'contrary to Apoſtolick and Eccleſi-'aſtick Authority, and is to be extir-'pated and rooted out from amongſt 'the Miniſters of *CHRIST*; and if 'for the future any one preſume to do contrary to this 'Canon, he ſhould be degraded.

Quæ conſuetudo Apoſtolicæ, & Eccleſiaſticæ autoritati contraria, eradicanda, & funditus extirpanda eſt, à Domini Sacerdotibus, & ſiquis hoc deinceps facere preſumpſerit, gradus ſui periculo ſubjacebit

And if this Manuſcript Canon do not altogether agree with that Canon on this Subject, publiſhed by the Learned Collector of the Councils, the difference lies in the Reaſon and Sanction, and not in the prohibition; for the Seventh Canon in that Collection is no leſs expreſs in forbidding the private Maſs, (*a*) than that in the Manuſcript.

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 589.

SECT. IX. Theſe are ſuch Inſtances of the Zeal and Wiſdom of the *Engliſh* Church, to preſerve the Doctrine of the Holy Sacrament uncorrupt, and keep the celebration thereof in the ancient Channel, as leave Poſterity, and indeed Truth it ſelf, indebted to this Age, for ſuch Teſtimonies againſt the Corruption of thoſe which followed; and if we add the Advice of *Ælfrick*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to the Clergy, concerning their Marriage, to what was obſerved before, in relating the Controverſy occaſioned by the attempt to force the married Clergy to renounce their Wives, and take the Habit of Religion, or elſe to quit their Places in Mo-

Anno 1004.

Monaſteries and Cathedrals, we have, it may be, the Judgment of the preſent Church on that ſubject.

For it is certain, that *Ælfrick* was a great Patron of the Celibate Clergy, yet his Doctrine and Example will turn to no account to thoſe who aſſert the unlawfulneſs of their Marriage; for in his Sermon to his Clergy on that ſubject, his Addreſs is ſuch as ſhews he did not believe their Marriage unlawful, whatever Opinion he had of the inexpediency thereof, and his Addreſs was anſwerable: 'We do not compel you 'to put away your Wives, but inform 'you how to behave your ſelves. A Pattern of Moderation and Temper, that deſerved the imitation of thoſe who ſucceeded him; And reproaches the extravagant Follies of thoſe who found the neceſſity of Celibacy on the Authority of a married Apoſtle: And without remembring that St. *Peter*, and in all probability, the moſt of the Apoſtles, and ſome of the greateſt Biſhops of the firſt Ages, were married Men, preſume to determine the Marriage of their Succeſſors to be unlawful.

Non cogimus violenter vos dimittere Uxores veſtras, ſed diximus vobis qualiter eſſe debetis. Sermo Ælfrici ad Clericos Mſ. Bennet. Coll. Cant. fol. 186.

But whatever Opinions the later Ages have produced, it is very evident, the *Engliſh* Clergy were at this time ſo far from believing their Marriages unlawful, that upon all occaſions they juſtified themſelves by the Example of St. *Peter*; and ſo far were they from being convinced, or thinking themſelves any way obliged by the Canons of *Ælfrick* to renounce their Wives, that when that Prelate vouched the Canons of the Church, their uſual Anſwer was, they had *Peter* for their Example; and therefore in a Diſcourſe of that Prelate upon this occaſion, he thus addreſſes himſelf to his Clergy.

'When, ſaith he, I mind you who 'are the Clergy of my Dioceſs, of the 'Injunctions of the Holy Canons, you 'are ſurpriſed with what I ſay, and 'think it incredible; and Marriage is 'a thing ſo common with you, that 'you think it no Sin for a Presbyter, a 'Deacon, or Clerk, to live in a ſtate 'of Matrimony as the Laity uſually do, and are rea-'dy upon all occaſions to ſay, that St. *Peter* the Apoſtle was

Ego vobis Clerici mihi ſubditis dico inſtituta ſanctorum Canonum, &c. Sed vobis hoc mirum, & incredibile videtur, quia habetis veſtram miſeriam in tam frequenti uſu ut non exiſtimatis eſſe peccatum ſi Preſbiter aut Diaconus, aut Clericus vivat cum uxore ſicut Laicus; dicitis quoque quod Petrus Apoſtolus habuit uxorem & filios. Sermo Ælfrici ad Clericos fol. 186. Mſ. Coll. Sancti Benedict. Cantab.

'was a married Man, and had a Wife and Children.

This Sermon of *Ælfrick* ſhews, that what had hitherto been done in favour of the Regulars, had had no influence on the Sentiments or Practices of the Parochial Clergy; however, *Ælfrick*, notwithſtanding this, and what is ſaid before of the moderation of that Prelate he acted up to his Principle; and about this time diſpoſſeſſed the Canons of the Church of *Canterbury* (*a*), and, by his Intereſt with King *Ethelred*, gained a confirmation of the change he had made, together with a new Charter, (*b*) and many additional Privileges to the Monks; and if *William Thorn*, afterwards a Monk of *Canterbury* (*c*), be not miſtaken in placing this Affair in this Year, it ſeems probable, that this was one of the laſt Acts of *Ælfric*'s Life; for according to the Account of the *Saxon Chronicle* that Prelate died this Year; according to *Florentius*, the Year following; and *Elphegus*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, ſucceeded him in the See of *Canterbury*.

(*a*) *Chronicon* W. Thorn. *Anno* 1005. X. *Script.* *Col.* 1780.
(*b*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 504.
(*c*) *Chron.* Thorn. X. *Script.* *Col.* 1781.

SECT. X. *England* was at this time groaning under the Miſeries of Sword and Famine: a Year or two before the *Danes* had with an unreſiſted Fury laid waſte the Country, and without diſtinction of Sex or Age ſacrificed the People to their Revenge and Fury; and this forced thoſe who eſcaped, to take Sanctuary in Woods or Garriſons, and the Ground was left untilled; and the conſequence was what muſt neceſſarily enſue, a Famine, which equalled the Cruelties of the Sword; and this forced the *Engliſh*, about this time, to make a new Purchaſe of their Peace, and this again added Poverty to the Miſeries of the Sword and Famine. *Anno* 1006.

But it was eaſy to foreſee, that this Peace betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Danes* would laſt but a little while, for the event ſhews, that the Sincerity was much alike on both ſides; for this Peace left a Body of the *Danes* in poſſeſſion of a great part of *England*; and the Nation, without any hopes of being rid of thoſe Gueſts but by force: and therefore the intention of the *Engliſh* in making Peace, was no other than to gain time to make proviſion for War; and the *Danes*, though they played a ſure Game in taking the *Engliſh* Money, had reaſon to be aſſured, that their Faith and Honour would not ſtand in their way, when ever they could hope to gain by breaking the Agreement: This Peace being made, a *Anno* 1007.

great Council was convened by King *Ethelred*, to meet at *Engſham* in *Oxfordſhire*, where Proviſion was made, as well for building and ſetting out a Fleet, as for raiſing an Army, and a Law eſtabliſhed as well for the one as the other; by which every three hundred and ten Hides of Land were obliged to build and ſet out one Ship (*a*), and every eight Hides to furniſh out a Soldier; and ſeveral Laws were made for the Regulation of the Fleet and Army.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 1008.

And tho' this Council ſeems to have been occaſioned by the Neceſſities of the State, yet, according to the way of theſe Ages, many things were here agreed upon, for the regulation and good order of the Affairs of Religion and the Church.

1. The firſt injoins the Secular Canons, who were yet in the Monaſteries, to eat in the Common-Hall, and live Chaſtly, and by the Rules of the Houſe, or elſe to be expelled.

2. But the ſecond, though it Admoniſhes and Intreats all that are in Holy Orders, eſpecially Prieſts, to live Chaſtly, yet preſcribes no Puniſhment for their Diſobedience.

9. The ninth confirms the Privileges of Churches, and forbids any Miniſter to be put out of his Church, without the conſent of his Biſhop.

10. The tenth directs the time when the ſeveral ſorts of Tythes ought to be paid; and what relate to the Church are of the ſame kind, and contain no more than what had been decreed by the preceding Kings.

Anno 1007. SECT. XI. The Times were too full of diſorder and confuſion to permit one to expect any great Matters from the Reſolves of this Council; but whatever iſſue the Eccleſiaſtick Laws had, it appears, that in purſuance of the Reſolutions here agreed upon, an Army was raiſed, and a very conſiderable Fleet was ſet out, but yet nothing ſucceeded in the Reign of King *Ethelred*, but, on the contrary, the Army lying long upon the Coaſt, impoveriſhed rather than ſerved their Country; and the People gained little elſe, but the comfort of being undone by their Friends, and partly, by Treachery, and Sloth, and Ill-conduct, the Forces in the Midland waſted and came to nothing; and the Fate of the

the Fleet was no better, for, partly by the treachery and ill-conduct of the Officers, and the Caſualties of the Seas, it was ſo reduced, that it did in no meaſure anſwer the charge and expectance of the Nation.

Whilſt every thing went thus wrong at home, *Swane*, King of *Denmark* arrived in *England* with a good Army; and now the buſineſs of that People was no longer to pillage, but conquer the Kingdom; and ſuch progreſs did he make, that in the compaſs of three or four Years the *Danes* poſſeſſed themſelves of the greateſt part of *England*; and continuing the ſucceſs of their Arms till the Year 1013, the King was forced to ſend Queen *Emma* to her Brother *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy*; and together with her, his two Sons by that Princeſs, *Edmund* and *Ælfred*, and to retire himſelf, by the help of his Fleet, to the Iſle of *Wight*; and before the end of the Year he was forced to follow them into *Normandy*: During this War *Elphege*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was murdered by the *Danes*. Things being brought to this paſs, the greateſt part of *England* ſubmitted to *Swane*, King of *Denmark*, and received him for their King. *Anno* 1011. *Anno* 1013.

SECT. XII. But after a ſhort Exile of King *Ethelred*, Providence opened a way to his return; for King *Swane* dying this Year, the Nobility and Clergy recalled their exiled Prince, and hoped that his paſt Misfortunes might have taught him Wiſdom; and that with the help of the *Normans* which he brought over to his Aid, they might once again recover their Country and their Liberty; and they were not deceived altogether in their expectation, for by the help he brought with him, added to his own Forces, he fell upon *Canutus*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Swane* deceaſed, in *Lincolnſhire*, and routed his Army, and forced him to retire to his Ships. *Anno* 1014.

About two Years after *Canutus* returned with a greater Fleet and Army, but *GOD* delivered King *Ethelred* from the danger, by taking him to himſelf, for he died the beginning of this Year, leaving behind him the Character of a very weak and ſlothful Prince. *Edmund* his eldeſt Son ſucceeded to the Throne, but found his Affairs extreamly perplexed and embroiled; however, he approved himſelf a very bold and warlike Prince, a Prince of Reſolution and Conduct; and after ſeveral Battels fought with *Canutus*, King of the *Danes*, forced him *Anno* 1016.

King Ethelred *dies.*

Edmund *Surnamed* Ironſide *ſucceeds.*

Anno 1017. him to accept a Peace, but never lived to reap the benefit thereof, for he died the latter end of *November* the Year following.

Canutus *King.* *Anno* 1018. SECT. XIII. *Canutus*, King of *Denmark*, who by his late Agreement with *Edmund Ironſide*, was in poſſeſſion of a good part of *England*, upon the Death of that Prince, was, by the conſent of the Nobility and Biſhops, owned as ſole King of *England*. *Edmund* left behind him two Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*, and two Half-Brothers *Edward* and *Ælfred*, who were the Sons of *Ethelred* by *Emma* his later Wife, as *Edward* was by the former; but *Canutus* being now in poſſeſſion of the Crown, preſently grew jealous of the Princeſs; and the better to ſecure himſelf, ſent *Edmund* and *Edward*, the Sons of *Edmund Ironſide*, to the King of *Sweden*, with an Intention, as it is ſaid, to have them made away; but that Prince deteſting ſuch an horrible Villany, ſent them to *Solomon*, King of *Hungary*, where *Edmund*, the elder of them, died; *Edward*, the younger of them, marrying *Agatha*, the Siſter of King *Solomon*, had ſeveral Children, amongſt whom was *Edward*, ſurnamed *Ætheling*, of whom we ſhall hear again in his proper place.

As for the two Sons of *Ethelred* by Queen *Emma*, Siſter to the Duke of *Normandy*, they had been ſent to the Court of that Prince ſome Years before, where they were educated, and lived till time opened a way to the Reſtoration of this Family in the Perſon of *Edward*, known by the Name of *Edward the Confeſſor*. In the mean time, the better to quiet *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy*, who could not but reſent the Wrong done to his Nephews, *Canute* preſently after his acceſſion to the Crown, made his application to *Emma*, Siſter to the Duke, and Wife to the late King *Ethelred*, and Mother to *Edward* and *Ælfred*, and married her before the end of the Year; and to tie the Knot ſtill faſter, he made a Match for *Margaret* his Siſter, with *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy* (*a*).

(*a*) J. Meurſii *Hiſt.* Danica. *Lib.* 3. *pag.* 54.

Yet if we may rely on the Authority of *Walſingham*, this was ſo far from diverting the Reſentments of the Duke of *Normandy*, that this Author (*b*) ſays, that Prince ſent his Embaſſador to *Canute* to demand the Kingdom of *England* in the Right of his Nephews, and that demand not ſucceeding, he ſet out a Fleet, with an intention

(*b*) Ypodigma Neuſtriæ. *Col.* Camden. *pag.* 432.

tention to fall upon *England*, and by force reſtore his Nephews to their Right; but that Fleet miſcarrying in a Tempeſt, his Deſign alſo came to nothing. What Truth there is in this Relation is hard to ſay, for whatever probability it may have, it is omitted by other Hiſtorians, however this Matter paſſed.

SECT. XIV. *Canute* was crowned King by *Lyving*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had ſucceeded to that Chair on the Death of *Elphege*; and in return to the Service of that Prelate, *Canute* began his Reign with a Charter granted to him, and the Church (*a*) and See of *Canterbury*, confirming the Primacy thereof, and exempting that Church, and the Liberties thereof, from all Secular Services. And about three Years after, if we may believe the Monks of St. *Edmondsbury*, he alſo exempted that Houſe from all Eccleſiaſtick, as well as Secular Juriſdiction, in a great Council held at *Wincheſter* (*b*); or as that Charter pretends, at a Parliament held there. *Anno* 1018.

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 533.

(*b*) *Pag.* 534.

But beſides what is obſerved by the Learned Collector of the *Engliſh* Councils, that the word *Parliament* was not yet in uſe, if known in *England*, there are ſo many other Marks of Impoſture, that it ſeems much more likely, that that Charter was made after the Diſpute, ſet a-foot by the Monaſticks, to exempt themſelves from the Authority of their Biſhops, than owing to the favour of this Prince, to whom it is aſcribed; but his building and repairing of Churches and Monaſteries, and the great Bodies of Laws which paſs under the Name of this Prince, make it evident, that the Affairs of the Church did not want a juſt proportion of his Care, though it is very likely, that this change in the Government made ſome additions to the preſent Corruptions of the Church of *England*.

For *Canutus* was King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, as well as of *England*, and though ſome attempts had been made for the planting the Chriſtian Religion in thoſe Countries, yet, for the moſt part, they continued in their Paganiſm; and beſides the great numbers of thoſe People, who by a long War had been brought into *England*, it is highly probable, that *Canutus* making *England* the chief place of his Reſidence, might draw ſtill greater numbers of thoſe People thither; and although theſe followed the Example of their King, and

became Chriſtians; yet when it is conſidered, what that People were, and by whom they were converted, one is very apt to think they were ſuch a ſort of Chriſtians as the Northern People, who over-run the Empire, generally were at their firſt Converſion; and ſuch, it may be, as the *Chineſes* now are, who are ſaid to owe their Converſion to the Jeſuits; and ſuch as *Bede* obſerves ſome of the *Engliſh* were at their firſt Converſion, who were ſo addicted to their ancient *Pagan* Rites, that they mixed Paganiſm and Chriſtianity together, and of whom it may more properly be ſaid, that they corrupted the Chriſtian Faith, rather than that they ſubmitted to it.

Anno 1018. SECT. XV. If this was not the ſtate of the new *Daniſh* Converts, and in ſome meaſure of the *Engliſh* too, who had intermarried with this People; thus much is evident, that *Canutus* was forced to make a Law againſt the Sorceries and Enchantments the Northern People were exceedingly addicted to (*a*); and to forbid the Gentile Idolatry, and in particular the Worſhip of the Sun, the Moon, the Fire, the Fruits of the Ground, the Waters, or Stones of Fountains, or any kind of Trees or Wood (*b*): And by another Law he requires, that all ſhould unite in the Worſhip of the true GOD (*c*). Such another Law againſt Idolatry was made by *Ercombert*, King of *Kent*, about forty Years after the coming of *Auſtin* the Monk (*d*). And Laws, as they give us proof of the Wiſdom and Zeal of Nations, give us alſo the moſt certain Marks of the prevailing Vices and Errors.

(*a*) *Concil. Brit. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 553.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) *Concil. Brit. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 539.

(*d*) Bed. *Eccl. Hiſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 7.

And it may be this reflection on the preſent ſtate of the *Engliſh* and *Danes*, may let us into the true reaſon why the buſineſs of Pilgrimages, and viſiting of Shrines, and a wonderful Zeal for Reliques, did again, about this time, begin to revive; for the Pomp and outward ſhews of Religion ſeldom make any great Figure, but when the heat is drawn from the Vitals thereof, and the Spirit and Power of Holineſs do uſually abate in proportion, when the Zeal of the Votary ſpends it ſelf in great and uncommon meaſures of ſhew and oſtentation of Religion; for Chriſtianity never ſhone ſo bright as in its firſt natural plaineſs; and ever looks moſt unlike it ſelf when it fixes Men upon Inſtances of Zeal, that its firſt Author has no where directed us to; and the Chri-

Chriſtian Worſhip is ever moſt agreeable in its primitive Pattern, when its Ceremonies go no further than what is neceſſary to Decency and Order.

But on whatever grounds a Zeal of this kind is founded, the Zeal of the new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Agelnoth*, who ſucceeded on the Death of *Lyving*, in purchaſing and bringing into *England* the Arm of St. *Auguſtine*, Biſhop of *Hippo*, the Year following, and beſtowing it as a Gift on the Church of *Coventry*; and the mighty Purchaſe made by Queen *Emma*, of the Arm of St. *Bartholomew*; the tranſlating of the Reliques of St. *Elphege*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, from St. *Paul's* in *London*, to *Canterbury*, about three Years after; the prodigious Wealth *Canute* laid out in adorning the old Monaſtery of *Winchester*; the Pilgrimages he made to viſit the Tomb of St. *Cuthbert* at *Durham*, to the Churches of *Glaſſenbury* and *Winchester*; and his building the Monaſtery of St. *Benedict* at *Holm* in *Norfolk*, have a conſiderable ſhare in the Eccleſiaſtick Story of this time; and the Journey of *Canutus* to *Rome* ſome Years after, is ſo celebrated amongſt ſome of our Writers, that one cannot read their Stories without Pity and Aſtoniſhment. *Anno* 1020. *Anno* 1023.

CHAP. XXII.

Ab Anno 1027 ad Annum 1066.

SECT. I. *Going to* Rome *under pretence of Devotion becomes faſhionable: This Uſage in reputation in the Eighth Century: The ill effects thereof. King* Canute *goes to* Rome: *Complains of the greedineſs of that Court: Is promiſed redreſs, but in vain.*

II. Ælfrick, *Archbiſhop of* York, *ſuppoſed the Author of thoſe Homilies and Canons, aſcribed to* Ælfrick *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

III. Canute *dies:* Harold *ſucceeds: The* Engliſh *Line put by.*

IV. Ha-

IV. Harold *attempts to deſtroy the Princes of the* Engliſh *Line :* Ælfred *murdered : He endeavours to ſecure the Intereſt of the Clergy :* Harold *dies.*

V. Hardi Canute *obtains the Kingdom : He dies : The* Engliſh *Line reſtored in* Edward the Confeſſor : *The* Danes *forced to leave* England.

VI. *Ambition of Earl* Godwin *inſtrumental in reſtoring the Royal* Engliſh *Line.*

VII. England *delivered from the* Daniſh *Yoke : The change the Revolution produced : King ſeizes the Treaſure of his Mother :* Eadſius, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *quits his ſtation ; and probably forced to it.*

VIII. *King* Edward *married* Edgith : *The Monkiſh Tale of his Vow of Celibacy : The ill effects thereof.*

IX. *The King fond of the* Normans, *brings them into the chief Truſts both in Church and State :* Robert, *a* Norman, *Biſhop of* London : Emma, *Mother of the King, charged with Incontinency : Submits to the Ordeal Trial.*

X. Normans *brought into Biſhopricks :* Robert, *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury ; William, *Biſhop of* London ; Ulf, *Biſhop of* Dorcheſter : *They carry all before them.*

XI. *The* Norman *Faction broken :* Godwin *recalled : The* Norman *Biſhops forced to leave* England : Stigand *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *in the room of* Robert, *follows the example of* Dunſtan, *and holds the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter *therewith.*

XII. William, *Biſhop of* London, *recalled and reſtored :* Robert, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and* Ulf, *Biſhop of* Dorcheſter, *die in exile :* Ulf *ſaid to go to the Council of* Verecelles *to complain.*

XIII. Engliſh *and* Norman *Factions in the Court both powerful. The King leaves the Succeſſion undetermined.*

XIV. *Schiſm and Confuſions in the Church, and Court of* Rome : *Archbiſhop* Stigand *ſaid to receive his Pall from* Benedict, *a Schiſmatical Pope : Vain pretenſions of the Unity of that Church.*

XV. *Three Biſhops of* Rome *depoſed at once : The miſerable ſtate of that Church.*

XVI. *His*

XVI. *His receiving a Pall from* Benedict *not the reaſon of Archbiſhop* Stigand's *Depoſition : It is probable he had no Pall, yet acted and was owned as Archbiſhop by the Church of* England.

XVII. *Though Archbiſhop* Stigand *did for many Years deſpiſe the Authority of the Biſhops of* Rome, *yet was owned as Primate of* England : *The Death of* Edward the Confeſſor.

SECT. I. THE 'foremention'd Uſage of running to *Rome* under the pretence of Devotion, had had a mighty reputation in *England* in the Eighth Century, and yet was ſo far from anſwering the pretended ends, that *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, a zealous aſſerter of the Honour of the Holy See, took notice of the Scandal and ill effects it produced (*a*), and wrote to *Cuthbert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to put a ſtop to it, by forbidding it; and accordingly this Zeal cooled by degrees, ſo that from the Reign of *Æthelwulf*, King of *England*, who is ſaid to go to *Rome* about the Year 852, till this Journey of *Canutus*, about a hundred and ſeventy five Years after, this kind of Devotion had been ſo little in faſhion amongſt the *Engliſh* Princes, that I do not remember any one Inſtance of this kind of later date than that of *Æthelwulf*. *Anno* 1027.

(*a*) Bonifac. *Epiſt. Con.* Britan. *Vol.* 1. *pag.* 241.

However that be, we are told that this Year King *Canutus* went to *Rome*; and, to give all encouragement to ſuch Inſtances of Devotion, obtained leave of the Princes through whoſe Kingdoms the *Engliſh* Pilgrims were to paſs, that they ſhould be excuſed from Tolls and Taxes; and that during his ſtay there he complain'd of the exaction of the Officers of that Court; and that amongſt other Favours he obtained of Pope *John* the Twentieth, that for the time to come the exceſſive Charges our Archbiſhops had uſually been at in demanding of the Pall, ſhould be moderated (*b*). What benefit the preſent Age received from this Grant does not appear; but it is certain, this favour was ſo far from ſtretching it ſelf to after Ages, that although the intolerable greedineſs and oppreſſions of that Court, were a conſtant ſubject of Complaint for ſeveral Ages, it is very manifeſt they were never cured, till the Wiſdom *Anno* 1031.

(*b*) Canuti *Epiſt.* Florent. Wigorn. *An.* 1031.

of after times found out a remedy of their own, and by keeping their Archbiſhops at home, did at once deliver them from the needleſs hazard and fatigues of a Journey to *Rome* on that occaſion, and the Nation from the intolerable Exactions which uſually attended it.

But whilſt Pilgrimages, and ſuch ſort of Devotions lie ſo much out of the way of that Devotion the Example and Precepts of our Lord have recommended, that they make no impreſſion on any, but Men whoſe Underſtandings have a very peculiar make: There are ſome Acts of Piety, that, like the Manna of the *Iſraelites*, fall in with every Palate; amongſt which there is an Inſtance of the Piety of King *Canutus*, that ſeems to deſerve a place; I mean, the direction he ſent from *Rome*, in an Epiſtle to the Biſhops and Nobility of *England*, (*a*) in which he promiſes them the utmoſt of his care, to amend whatever was amiſs in his paſt Government; and for the time to come to conduct himſelf by the ſtricteſt Rules of Equity, and requires their care, that Juſtice may have its due courſe, that the Poor may not be oppreſſed, nor the Rich favoured beyond what is juſt, nor the Church defrauded of its juſt Rights: Theſe are ſuch bright and ſhining Inſtances of the Piety of a Prince, as can never want an eſteem and veneration amongſt Men, whilſt they are able to diſtinguiſh that which does them good, from that which hurts them; and notwithſtanding that his Reign was not free from blemiſh, nor his Perſon from Failings, yet the courſe of his Government was ſuch, that *Canutus* has hitherto preſerved the Character of a good Prince.

(*a*) Ibid.

Anno 1034.

SECT. II. And if the Learned Author (*b*) of the Diſſertation of the two *Ælfricks* be right in his conjecture, he will in a particular manner deſerve a place in the Annals of the Church; for it is certain, that it was under his Reign that *Ælfrick*, Archbiſhop of *York*, was raiſed to that Station; for *Wulſtan*, the former Archbiſhop of that See, died about the Year 1028, and *Ælfrick Putta*, or *Puttoc*, ſucceeded the ſame Year; and if he was the compoſer of that Body of Homilies, known by the Name of the Book of Catholick Sermons, and of thoſe Epiſtles and Canons which paſs under *Ælfrick*'s Name, it would make a great Addition to Eccleſiaſtick Story under the Reign of this Prince.

(*b*) Wharton *Diſſertat. Ang. Sac. Part* 1. *pag.* 125.

For

For the great ſhare that the *Engliſh* Kings had hitherto had in the Affairs of the Church, leaves one no ground to doubt, that Tranſactions of this kind could not paſs in this Reign, without giving this Prince a part in the Honour thoſe Works have deſerved; and indeed the ſettled ſtate of Affairs under this Prince, ſeems to be ſo much fitter for Works of that kind, than the diſturbed and broken Reign of King *Ethelred*; and the Reaſons of the 'foreſaid Learned Antiquary have ſo much weight, that if the unanimous conſent of preceding Times had not determined in favour of *Ælfrick*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſo interwoven this Affair into the Story of his Time, that they could not eaſily be ſeparated, it may be what is ſaid before under the Reign of *Ethelred*, might more properly have taken its place under the Reign of *Canutus*.

Nor am I willing to leſſen the Honour of *Canutus*, with giving credit to that Story, as others have done before me, which ſeems no way to the advantage of that Prince, unleſs it be in reproaching the Flatteries of thoſe about him: the Story I mean of his ſetting himſelf on the Sea-ſhore, whilſt the Tide was coming in, and commanding the Waves to fall back, but the deaf Element paying no regard to the Command of the King, bore in upon him, and having ſoundly wetted his Feet and Royal Robes, forced him to retire; this, ſay the ſame Writers, not only gave occaſion to that Prince, to reflect on the Flatteries of thoſe who had too much magnified his Power, but alſo ſo throughly mortified his Vanity, that after ſome Reflections on the impotence of Princes, he ſent his Crown to be hanged up on the Image of our Saviour, fixed on a Croſs in *Winchester*. This Story has ſo much of the Legendary turn, that one would chooſe to believe, that the firſt part of it was made for the ſake of the latter, and that both were Inventions, rather than fix the reproach of ſo impertinent a Tale on this Prince.

And yet *H. Huntington* reckoning the extraordinary things of this Prince's Reign, mentions only theſe three; firſt the Marriage of his Daughter to the Emperor *Conrade*; the ſecond is his going to *Rome*, and bringing thence a part of the Wood of the Croſs; and the third is this Story of the Sea; and indeed theſe two latter ſeem

to

to be ſo much of a piece, that it is great pity they ſhould be ſeparated.

Anno 1035. SECT. III. The Burthens the *Engliſh* Nation ſuffered in the beginning of this Reign were very heavy; but the charge to the Fleet and Army of *Canutus* (which occaſioned it) being over, they were treated with the tenderneſs of Subjects; and being freed from the Ravages they had for many Years endured, they ſate down quietly under the Government of this Prince; and notwithſtanding the Hardſhips which hereby fell upon the *Anno* 1036. Royal Line, they continued peaceable under the Government of *Canutus*, till the end of his Reign; and indeed it was no wonder, for their Peace was bound up in his Life, and the beſt Views they had beyond it were very melancholy and diſconſolate, and gave them Reaſons to dread the Miſeries of an Inteſtine War.

King Canutus *dies.* Anno 1036. However, it pleaſed GOD about this time to take King *Canutus* to himſelf, who, after a Reign of near twenty Years, died at *Shaftsbury*, and was buried at *Wincheſter*; and now the Nation preſently falls into that Confuſion it had juſt reaſon before to expect; for the Pretenders to the Crown were very many, and the Factions anſwerable to the numbers of the Pretenders; for at this time *Edward* and *Edmund*, two Sons of King *Edmund*, Surnamed *Ironſide*, were yet in Being, and *Alfred* and *Edward*, Sons of King *Ethelred*, by *Emma* his ſecond Wife, were in the Court of the Duke of *Normandy*; beſides theſe, there were other Pretenders to the Kingdom deſcended from *Canutus*; *Harold* was his Son, as ſome ſay, by a former Wife, or as others ſay, by a Concubine; and *Hardi Canute* by *Emma* his ſecond Wife; and theſe ſeveral Lines had their ſeveral Factions.

Harold had this peculiar advantage, that all his Competitors were out of the Kingdom when *Canutus* died; Harold *ſucceeds.* Anno 1036. the Sons of *Edmund* in *Hungary*; the Sons of *Ethelred* by *Emma*, in *Normandy*; *Hardi Canute*, the Son of *Canutus* by *Emma*, in *Denmark*, whilſt *Harold* alone was at the head of his Party, and he being a bold and reſolute Prince, without long waiting for deciſion of this Diſpute, ſeized upon the Crown; and as he omitted no Addreſs to bring the Nobility and Clergy over to his Intereſt, ſo he never ſtuck at any thing that he thought neceſ-

neceſſary to ſecure it, and deliver himſelf from the danger of thoſe Rivals which he thought moſt likely to give him trouble; *Hardi Canute* his greateſt Competitor was at a diſtance, and which is more, had not ſo great a ſhare in the Affections of the People, whoſe Inclinations were chiefly to the *Engliſh* Line; and as this gave the greateſt Umbrage to *Harold*, ſo he chiefly applied himſelf to prevent the dangers which might ariſe from thence; and therefore no ſooner was he got in poſſeſſion of the Crown, but he preſently ſeized the Treaſure of the Queen Dowager *Emma*, and had a jealous Eye upon her till he baniſhed her out of the Kingdom the Year following.

SECT. IV. But it was her Sons by *Ethelred* that were the chief Objects of his Fear, and for that reaſon of his Hatred; and therefore before he baniſhed their Mother, ſome of our Hiſtorians ſay, that he cauſed a Letter to be wrote in her Name, and ſent it by a Meſſenger into *Normandy*, to invite over the young Princes *Ælfred* and *Edward*, and give them hopes of a conſiderable Party, which at their firſt Landing would preſently appear for them; and that by this Artifice he got *Ælfred* into his hands, and having murdered his Followers and put out his Eyes, he ſent him to the Monaſtery of *Ely* to be ſecured, where he not long after died; but though this be ſaid with great aſſurance, by ſome of our Hiſtorians, one would not be forward to believe it; for the *Norman* Hiſtorians ſay, thoſe two young Princes waited for the Death of *Canutus*, and having a Fleet ready quickly after ſet Sail for *England*; where *Ælfred* being betrayed by *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent*, was drawn into the Midland parts of *England*, and together with his Followers uſed as is above related; but *Edward* finding great oppoſition at his firſt Landing, was ſoon made ſenſible that his Party in *England* was not ſo conſiderable as he expected; and therefore retired to *Normandy* again to wait for a more favourable opportunity, which GOD at laſt vouchſafed unto him; but though *Harold* maintained his Poſt, yet he could never deliver himſelf from the diſquiet and perpetual Jealouſies which attend a broken and diſtracted State, and may more properly be ſaid to have worn out, rather than to have reigned three or four Years. *Anno* 1037.

Anno 1038. And this perpetual ferment in the State ſo took off his Thoughts from the Affairs of the Church, that we are not to wonder if he left no Eccleſiaſtical Law, nor any footſteps of any Council held on the ſcore of Religion; indeed, if there be ground for what is ſaid by *Harpsfield*, (*a*) of *Ægelnoth* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s refuſing to Crown this King; or what is ſaid by Mr. *Creſſey*, of the ill terms on which he ſtood with the Clergy, we ſhall have another reaſon for his Conduct, beſides what is ſaid from the unſettled Affairs of the Nation; but if that had been the true reaſon of his Conduct, Providence put it into his Power to make the Clergy ſurer to his Intereſt.

(*a*) *Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Anglic. Sæcul.* 11c. *pag.* 232.

For in the compaſs of this Year no leſs than the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and three other Biſhopricks, fell into his hands; for in this Year the *Saxon* Chronicle fixes the Death of *Ægelnoth* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Æthelrick* Biſhop of *Seolſey*, *Ælfrick* Biſhop of *Helmham*, and *Brighteg* Biſhop of *Worceſter*: the See of *Canterbury* was filled by the Tranſlation of *Eadſius* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and that was ſupplied by *Alwin*; *Helmham* by *Stigand*, afterward Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Seolſey*, by *Grinketel*; *Worceſter*, by *Lyving*. All Men ſure to the Intereſt of *Harold*, and yet, for ought appears to the contrary, every thing continued upon the ſame foot, till the Death of that Prince, who died the Year following.

Anno 1039. *King* Harold *dies.*

King Hardi Canute *ſucceeds*, 1039.

SECT. V. And now, notwithſtanding what *Harpſfield* has obſerved of the mighty Zeal of the Clergy for the *Engliſh* Line, no regard was had to *Edward*, Surnamed *the Confeſſor*, the only remaining Son of *Ethelred*, late King of *England*; but upon the Death of *Harold*, the Great Men applied themſelves to *Hardi Canute* whoſe Father *Canutus* was a *Dane*, as his Mother *Emma* was a *Norman*, and without any oppoſition he was received as King of *England* this Year: And it is not unlikely by the ſuddenneſs of his coming, and the force he brought along with him, that when he was called thus peaceably to the Crown, he was prepared to aſſert his Right in another manner.

Thus much is evident, that his Mother *Emma* did very much reſent her Baniſhment, and much more the Baſeneſs and Treachery which ended in the Murder of her

her Son *Ælfred*, and uſed her Intereſt to raiſe the like Reſentment in her Son *Hardi Canute*, King of *Denmark*, ſo effectually, that he raiſed an Army, and had provided a Fleet ready to fall upon *Harold*, King of *England*, (*a*) and was himſelf with a part of his Fleet at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, when he received the news of King *Harold*'s Death (*b*); and as this occaſioned the *Engliſh*, whoſe Inclinations lay another way, to agree ſo generally in the choice of this Prince, who, it may be, would have made himſelf their King, if they had not thought fit to prevent him; ſo it is moſt probable, that this occaſioned that heavy burthen for the payment of the Fleet, which the *Saxon Chronicle* places within the compaſs of the following Year; for that payment amounting in the whole to above forty one thouſand Pounds, could not, as I think, be the ordinary Tax, known by the Name of the *Danegeld*.

(*a*) Emmæ *Encomium Scriptor.* Norman. *pag.* 176

(*b*) Ibid

Anno 1040.

But whatever occaſioned the *Engliſh* to agree in a choice, in all appearance ſo prejudicial to the Rights of the *Engliſh* Line, GOD thought fit, when it was leaſt expected, to reſtore it; for this Prince indulging himſelf in a courſe of Intemperance, met his Death in the midſt of an Entertainment, and died ſuddenly at *Lambeth* this Year, at a Wedding-Dinner prepared for his reception.

Anno 1041.

Hardi Canute *dies* 1041.

The ſuddenneſs of the King's Death makes it probable, that there is a Miſtake in the *Daniſh* Story (*c*) which ſays, that by his Will *Hardi Canute* gave the Kingdom of *England* to *Swane*. He was Son to *Margaret*, Siſter to *Canutus* the Great, as the *Daniſh* Hiſtorians call him, and was probably the next Heir to *Hardi Canute*, and in that Right claimed, as well the Kingdom of *England*, as that of *Denmark*: Beſides, he had been General of the *Daniſh* Forces in *England* under *Hardi Canute*; and being preſent in *England* at the Death of that Prince, did, if the *Daniſh* Hiſtorian be not miſtaken, poſſeſs himſelf of that Kingdom.

(*c*) Meurſii *Hiſt.* Danic. *Lib.* 3. *p.* 53.

King Swane.

But *Magnus*, King of *Norway*, having put in his Claim to the Kingdom of *Denmark*, preſently followed his pretence with an Army (*d*); and this forced *Swane* immediately to leave *England* and haſten away to *Denmark*: Upon his going thither he left the Command of his Army in the hands of *Harold*, Son to Earl *Godwin*, if this Ac-

(*d*) Meurſii *Hiſt.* Danica. *Lib.* 3. *p.* 57.

Account of *Meurſius*, which has great probability in it, may be relied upon. What *Malmsbury* ſays (*a*) of Prince *Edward*'s coming to Earl *Godwin*, and falling at his Feet, begging that he would ſpare his Life, and aſſiſt him in conveying him ſafe to *Normandy*; and all the Difficulties which that Writer ſaith attended the Acceſſion of Prince *Edward* to the Crown; the Services done him by *Godwin* and his Son, the expulſion of the *Danes*, and reſtoration of the *Engliſh* Line will be accounted for; whereas our Hiſtorians, who take no notice of this Affair of *Swane*, and ſpeak of the Acceſſion of *Edward the Confeſſor* to the Crown, as if it had immediately inſued the Death of *Hardi Canute*; and as if there had been no difficulty therein, leave us intirely at a loſs how it came to paſs that the *Lngliſh* Line was reſtored, and the *Danes* after ſo long a poſſeſſion, forced to leave *England*; but leaving things in the poſture the *Daniſh* Hiſtory has ſet them, it is time to return, and obſerve the Steps by which the *Engliſh* Line was reſtored in the Perſon of *Edward the Confeſſor*.

(*a*) Malmsb. *de Geſt. Reg. Ang. Lib.* 2. *fol.* 45.

Anno 1041. SECT. VI. The Pretenſions of the Royal Line of *England* lay betwixt *Edward* the Exile, the Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, and *Edward*, ſurnamed *the Confeſſor*, who was Son to King *Ethelred* by *Emma*, his ſecond Wife, as *Edmund Ironſide* was by the former, ſo that the Title was in *Edward* the Exile, as the Son of the elder Brother; but whatever advantage that Prince had from his Birth, was over-ballanced by the Temper of the other *Edward*, and his Preſence in *England*, whilſt his Rival was in *Hungary*.

The Ambition of *Godwin* and his Son *Harold* had no Bounds on this ſide the Throne, but the Times would not bear an attempt on the *Daniſh* and *Engliſh* Line together; there was therefore no remedy but they muſt cover their Deſigns for a while, under the pretence of aſſerting the Right of the *Engliſh* Line, and *Edward the Confeſſor* was an eaſy good-natur'd Prince, and by his Temper ſo well prepared to ſerve the Ends of thoſe about him, that it was very reaſonable for *Godwin* and his Son to promiſe themſelves the Royal Power, under his Title and Government; and, in time, the Title they aſpired to; and therefore they entred into a ſecret Agreement with that Prince, that in caſe they could bring him

him to the Crown, he ſhould marry *Edgith*, the Daughter of *Godwin*, and confer ſuch Truſts and Honours upon his Son *Harold* as might anſwer their Services and Expectations.

Things being thus concerted, *Harold*, who had the Command of the Army, ſo diſperſed it up and down the Kingdom, as made it eaſy to render it uſeleſs, and put it out of a capacity to draw together in a body, to break the Deſigns which he and his Father had formed. And if the *Daniſh* Hiſtorian (*a*) ſay true, under pretence of entertaining them, cauſed them all to be ſlain in one Night, and thereby brought *England* under his Power. Our Hiſtorians, though they make no mention of this Affair, agree with *Meurſius*, that the *Danes* were about this time driven out of *England*, and never more recovered their Intereſt therein, but do not pretend to tell us how this was accompliſhed.

(*a*) Meurſii *Hiſt.* Dan. *Lib.* 3. *p.* 57.

SECT. VII. But however this was brought about, it is agreed on all hands, that *England* was about this time delivered from the *Daniſh* Yoke, and with great Joy received a Prince of the *Engliſh* Line. *Edward* being advanced to the Throne was crowned at *Wincheſter* the Year following by *Eadſig*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and the conſequence of this change was ſuch as might be expected from ſuch a ſudden turn of Affairs; and, as uſual in ſuch caſes the Miniſters ſerved their Paſſions and Revenge, under the colour of their Maſters Service, and their Reſentments, or their particular Friendſhips and Intereſts were made the Meaſures to the Favours or Diſpleaſure of the Government. Thoſe who came not into their Intereſt were called diſaffected, and as favourers of the *Daniſh* Intereſt, were diſplaced, and others brought in their room. Queen *Emma*, Mother to King *Edward*, had voluntarily yielded her ſelf to the Embraces of King *Canutus*, who had dethroned her Husband, the Father of the King, diſpoſſeſſed the *Engliſh*, and began the *Daniſh* Race of Kings; beſides, as ſhe had been Mother to *Hardi Canute*, and doubtleſs had favoured his Succeſſion to the Crown, whilſt this Prince, and his Brother *Ælfred*, her Sons by King *Ethelred*, lived as a ſort of Exiles, and ſeem to have had a very little ſhare, either in her Affections or in her Care.

King Edward the Confeſſor Anno 1041.

Anno 1042.

Account of *Meurſius*, which has great probability in it, may be relied upon. What *Malmsbury* ſays (*a*) of Prince *Edward*'s coming to Earl *Godwin*, and falling at his Feet, begging that he would ſpare his Life, and aſſiſt him in conveying him ſafe to *Normandy*; and all the Difficulties which that Writer ſaith attended the Acceſſion of Prince *Edward* to the Crown; the Services done him by *Godwin* and his Son, the expulſion of the *Danes*, and reſtoration of the *Engliſh* Line will be accounted for; whereas our Hiſtorians, who take no notice of this Affair of *Swane*, and ſpeak of the Acceſſion of *Edward the Confeſſor* to the Crown, as if it had immediately inſued the Death of *Hardi Canute*; and as if there had been no difficulty therein, leave us intirely at a loſs how it came to paſs that the *Lngliſh* Line was reſtored, and the *Danes* after ſo long a poſſeſſion, forced to leave *England*; but leaving things in the poſture the *Daniſh* Hiſtory has ſet them, it is time to return, and obſerve the Steps by which the *Engliſh* Line was reſtored in the Perſon of *Edward the Confeſſor*.

(*a*) Malmsb. *de Geſt. Reg. Ang. Lib.* 2. *fol.* 45.

Anno 1041. SECT. VI. The Pretenſions of the Royal Line of *England* lay betwixt *Edward* the Exile, the Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, and *Edward*, ſurnamed *the Confeſſor*, who was Son to King *Ethelred* by *Emma*, his ſecond Wife, as *Edmund Ironſide* was by the former, ſo that the Title was in *Edward* the Exile, as the Son of the elder Brother; but whatever advantage that Prince had from his Birth, was over-ballanced by the Temper of the other *Edward*, and his Preſence in *England*, whilſt his Rival was in *Hungary*.

The Ambition of *Godwin* and his Son *Harold* had no Bounds on this ſide the Throne, but the Times would not bear an attempt on the *Daniſh* and *Engliſh* Line together; there was therefore no remedy but they muſt cover their Deſigns for a while, under the pretence of aſſerting the Right of the *Engliſh* Line, and *Edward the Confeſſor* was an eaſy good-natur'd Prince, and by his Temper ſo well prepared to ſerve the Ends of thoſe about him, that it was very reaſonable for *Godwin* and his Son to promiſe themſelves the Royal Power, under his Title and Government; and, in time, the Title they aſpired to; and therefore they entred into a ſecret Agreement with that Prince, that in caſe they could bring him

him to the Crown, he ſhould marry *Edgith*, the Daughter of *Godwin*, and confer ſuch Truſts and Honours upon his Son *Harold* as might anſwer their Services and Expectations.

Things being thus concerted, *Harold*, who had the Command of the Army, ſo diſperſed it up and down the Kingdom, as made it eaſy to render it uſeleſs, and put it out of a capacity to draw together in a body, to break the Deſigns which he and his Father had formed. And if the *Daniſh* Hiſtorian (*a*) ſay true, under pretence of entertaining them, cauſed them all to be ſlain in one Night, and thereby brought *England* under his Power. Our Hiſtorians, though they make no mention of this Affair, agree with *Meurſius*, that the *Danes* were about this time driven out of *England*, and never more recovered their Intereſt therein, but do not pretend to tell us how this was accompliſhed.

(*a*) Meurſii *Hiſt.* Dan. *Lib.* 3. *p.* 57.

SECT. VII. But however this was brought about, it is agreed on all hands, that *England* was about this time delivered from the *Daniſh* Yoke, and with great Joy received a Prince of the *Engliſh* Line. *Edward* being advanced to the Throne was crowned at *Wincheſter* the Year following by *Eadſig*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and the conſequence of this change was ſuch as might be expected from ſuch a ſudden turn of Affairs; and, as uſual in ſuch caſes the Miniſters ſerved their Paſſions and Revenge, under the colour of their Maſters Service, and their Reſentments, or their particular Friendſhips and Intereſts were made the Meaſures to the Favours or Diſpleaſure of the Government. Thoſe who came not into their Intereſt were called diſaffected, and as favourers of the *Daniſh* Intereſt, were diſplaced, and others brought in their room. Queen *Emma*, Mother to King *Edward*, had voluntarily yielded her ſelf to the Embraces of King *Canutus*, who had dethroned her Husband, the Father of the King, diſpoſſeſſed the *Engliſh*, and began the *Daniſh* Race of Kings; beſides, as ſhe had been Mother to *Hardi Canute*, and doubtleſs had favoured his Succeſſion to the Crown, whilſt this Prince, and his Brother *Ælfred*, her Sons by King *Ethelred*, lived as a ſort of Exiles, and ſeem to have had a very little ſhare, either in her Affections or in her Care.

King Edward the Confeſſor Anno 1041.

Anno 1042.

But it is evident, that this her Conduct did not occaſion an open breach of Friendſhip, nor hinder the Prince from waiting upon her in her Exile, under the Reign of *Harold*; and as ſhe was preſent in *England* when *Hardi Canute* died, having now no other Iſſue remaining, did doubtleſs favour the Succeſſion of *Edward* to the Throne; but whether this did not wipe out the reſentment of her former unkindneſs? or whether his Miniſters were jealous that his Mother might have too great an aſcendant over him, if they did not carry him to ſuch Extremities as might make the Breach too wide ever to be made up again? or whether the Figure ſhe had made in the laſt Reign, made her ſuſpected in this? or whether ſhe really favoured the *Daniſh* Intereſt, is not poſſible to determine; but it is certain, that this Princeſs was one of the firſt that ſuffered under this Revolution.

Anno 1043. For one of the firſt things that King *Edward* did, after his Coronation, was to ſeize upon the Treaſure of his Mother, and confine her to *Wincheſter*; and it is not unlikely, that the ſame Reaſons which produced ſuch changes in the ſtate, occaſioned ſome in the Church; for it appears that *Eadſius*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, retired from that Station, and if he kept his Title, the Adminiſtration of the Archbiſhoprick was put into the hands of *Syward*, Abbot of *Abingdon*, who was for that end conſecrated Biſhop. This is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the Indiſpoſition of that Prelate; but when it is conſidered that *Eadſius* lived ſix or ſeven Years, after this pretended incurable Indiſpoſition ſeized upon him, that he had been Chaplain to King *Harold*, and was ſo ill provided for during his Retirement, that he complained for want of a ſufficient Maintenance; and that upon the Death of his Coadjutor *Syward*, in the Year 1046 *Eadſig*, reaſſumed his Truſt (*a*). One would not be forward to believe that his Retirement had nothing of force in it; but, on the contrary, it ſeems highly probable, that his engaging in the *Daniſh* Intereſt, during the laſt Reign, was the true reaſon of the Hardſhips which fell upon him in this.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 1046.

Anno 1043. SECT. VIII. However things paſſed in this ſudden turn of Affairs, the ferment being pretty well over, and the Nation brought to ſome ſort of Settlement, the

the King made good his Promiſe to Earl *Godwin*, and this Year married his Daughter *Edgitha*, and in his Marriage complied with the Advice and Deſires of his People, who, from what they had before ſuffered, could not but foreſee the Miſchiefs which might enſue, if this Prince ſhould die without Iſſue; and therefore paſſionately deſired to ſee a young Prince of the *Engliſh* Line, and for that end deſired the King that he would be pleaſed to marry, which he did accordingly. And theſe conſiderations, one would think, ſhould have had the ſame weight with that Prince himſelf; but if any credit may be given to ſome of our Hiſtories, this Prince had before engaged himſelf by a Vow of Celibacy, and did not only not conſummate his Marriage, but perſwaded his Queen *Edgitha* to follow his Example, and put her ſelf under Vows of the ſame kind.

Thus, if we may rely on the Authority of our Monkiſh Hiſtorians, this Prince did deſignedly prevent the ends for which the Nation deſired his Marriage, and choſe rather to expoſe his People as a Prey to a Foreign Power, than to break a Vow which was made raſhly and ended in Miſchief; ſo that when one looks a little forward, and ſees the *Engliſh* Nation ruined for want of this Prince's Iſſue, and made a Prey to the *Normans*, one cannot but ſtand amazed to obſerve how ſome Men magnifie the Conduct of a Prince which viſibly tended, and did actually end in the ruine of his Family and Kingdom.

And ſuch extravagancies do the circumſtances of ſome Men lead their Judgment to, that although there is no good Caſuiſt ever allowed the obligation of a private Vow againſt any one Command of GOD, or thought it ſufficient to warrant the leaſt Act of Injuſtice to Men, there have been Men who to raiſe an eſteem of themſelves and their own way of living, ſo magnify the unhappy Conduct of this Prince, as if it was an Inſtance of the higheſt and moſt celebrated Piety in the World.

But, after all, it ſeems much more reaſonable to think, that his want of Iſſue was the Act of Providence, rather than the Fault of the Prince; and that this Story had the ſame beginning with thoſe many wild and ſenſeleſs Fictions with which the *Engliſh* Legends every where abound.

abound. But though this may be ſaid to cover the Honour of this Prince, his ill treatment of his Queen is ſcarce capable of an excuſe; for it is certain, that the King, after ſome time, put her away from him: And if the other part of the Story be true, that ſhe continued in a State of Virgin Chaſtity, it is hard to ſay what Apology can be made for him, that will conſiſt with a juſt ſenſe of that Religion, which allows of no Divorce but in caſe of Adultery. But to return.

Anno 1044. SECT. IX. Though the King was ſo far juſt to his Agreement with Earl *Godwin* as to marry his Daughter, it is very evident he quickly became very uneaſy under the Inſolence of that haughty Miniſter, who, beſides his natural haughtineſs, thought his Services too big to be ſufficiently rewarded; and this redoubled that puſhing and over-bearing Temper, which Princes never eaſily ſubmit to, and ſeldom bear long; ſo that although this was a Prince of a ſoft and eaſy Temper, yet he ſoon diſcovered a great uneaſineſs, which grew in time to coldneſs, and at laſt to an open breach betwixt them; to which there was another thing which very much contributed; for *Godwin* having, by his Services to the King, loſt his *Daniſh* Intereſt, his great care was now to make an Intereſt amongſt the *Engliſh*, and to ſet up for a Patriot of the Nation, by a ſeeming Zeal for the Intereſts of the Natives; and this threw him croſs the Temper and Inclinations of the King; for that Prince having lived long in *Normandy*, and being much obliged to that People, whilſt he was in a manner given up, at leaſt neglected by his own Country, he returned to *England* with ſuch Affections to the *Normans*, as long continuance in a Country, and a ſenſe of Gratitude are apt to inſpire Men with.

And as this occaſioned the introducing the Language and Cuſtoms of the *Normans* into his Court, ſo it exceedingly inclined the King to favour the Pretenſions of the Followers which he brought from *Normandy*, amongſt whom *Robert Gemiticenſis*, a *Norman* Monk, had a more particular ſhare in the Favours of the King. This Monk had for ſome time made a Figure in the Court, at the head of the *Norman* Faction, and in a little time was raiſed to the higheſt ſtation in the Church; and, in order thereunto, he was this Year made Biſhop of *London*, on

on the Death of his Predeceſſor *Alword*; and being Biſhop of *London*, his Character gave new aſſurance and reputation to that Prelate, and a better Grace to the Favours he had before enjoyed; and in time he ſupplanted *Godwin* and *Harold*, and became chief Miniſter of State, and every thing paſſed through his hands.

And to let the World ſee how abſolutely he ruled in the Affections of the King, he treated Queen *Emma*, the Mother of that Prince, with the utmoſt degrees of Inſolence and Contempt, and gave ſuch encouragement to a Report that was ſpread of her Lewd Converſation with *Alwin*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, that by his Importunity, againſt the Advice of the reſt of the Biſhops, that Princeſs was permitted to vindicate her ſelf from the Reproach, by undergoing the Ordeal Trial, which was walking blindfold and bare-foot over nine red hot Plow-ſhares; which being performed by that Princeſs, in the preſence of a great Aſſembly, and without receiving any hurt, the King repented his Credulity, and asked her Pardon. And this Matter ended no way to the Honour of that Prelate, who firſt adviſed it.

SECT. X. But though this Advice was laid up for the Day of Wrath, and was remembred when he who gave it deſired it ſhould be forgotten, yet for the preſent the Biſhop of *London* not only ſtood his ground, but carried all before him; and his own Intereſts falling in with the Inclinations of the King, he made it his care to fill the Church with Foreigners; and therefore *Brightwald*, Biſhop of *Sherborn*, dying this Year, *Herman*, a *Fleming*, or *Lorainer*, was put into his Chair; and the Year following *Lyving*, who ſome time before had united the Sees of St. *Germans* and *Credington*, and held both, together with *Worceſter*, dying about this time, *Leofrick*, a *Burgundian*, ſucceeded in the See of *Kirton*, or *Credington* in *Devonſhire*; and whatever Joy *Alwin*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, might conceive, by the part he had in Queen *Emma*'s Vindication, he lived but a little while after, but dying about this time, *Stigand*, who had been Biſhop of *Helmham*, ſucceeded him in the See of *Winchester*; and though he was an *Engliſh-man* by Birth, and did afterwards eſpouſe the Party of *Godwin*, yet it is not improbable he owed his preſent Tranſlation to the Biſhop of *London*.

Anno 1045.

Anno 1046.

Anno 1047.

Anno 1050.

If the event had not put it beyond a doubt, the nature of the thing would lead one to believe, that this Favourite did not ſtand ſo ſure, but he met with many ſhocks in the courſe of his Miniſtry; however, he bore through every difficulty which ſtood in the way of his good Fortune, till he had broke that Party which was headed by Earl *Godwin*, and his Sons, and forced them to leave *England*, and ſeek their Security abroad; and the Queen her ſelf did not eſcape the Misfortune which fell upon her Family; for to ſhew his Reſentment againſt her Father, the King was prevail'd upon to put away the Queen his Daughter, and having ſtripped her of her Jewels, ſent her to a Monaſtery; and as *Robert* thus broke the Intereſt of his Enemies, ſo he raiſed himſelf to the See of *Canterbury*; for *Eadſius* dying this Year, *Robert* was tranſlated to *Canterbury*.

Being raiſed to that Dignity the latter end of this Year, he went away to *Rome* to demand his Pall, and returning the Year following, he found *Sparhafoc*, Abbot of *Abingdon*, named by the King to ſucceed him in the See of *London*, who coming to him to deſire his Conſecration, the Archbiſhop pretended that the Biſhop of *Rome* had forbid it, and with that pretence delayed his Conſecration, till he found time at the meeting of the great Council in *September* 1051, (*a*) to prevail on the King to recal his nomination, and nominate *William*, a *Norman*, in his ſtead; and the ſame reaſons to which theſe Prelates owed their advancement, raiſed *Ulf*, another *Norman*, to the See of *Dorcheſter*.

(*a*) H. Whart. *de Epiſ.* Lond. *pag.* 40.

But ſuch is the uncertainty of human Affairs, that Court-Parties are commonly in moſt danger when they think thay ſtand ſafeſt; and the ſame Reaſons that found their Security, do uſually deſtroy it; for if they do ſucceed in putting the Places of Truſt into ſuch hands as they can confide in, it is ſeldom they raiſe one of their Friends, but at the ſame time they diſappoint two; and thus they double their Enemies by every one they add to the number of their Friends; and which is more, in carrying all before them, they add cement, and give a new fermentation to the Envy and Indignation of the oppoſite Party, and engage the Pity and good Wiſhes of the by-ſtanders on the ſide of the oppreſſed.

Be-

Beſides, Reſentment is the Soul by which Faction is animated, therefore oppreſſed Parties are uſually ſtrongeſt when heated moſt; and for the ſame reaſon, the Favourite Party is ever in moſt danger when its Inſolence is moſt inſupportable: And if this was not the reaſon of the ſudden turn of Affairs, it is very evident by the ſudden fall of the *Norman* Faction, that this was their caſe, they fell of a ſudden, and the Party was ruined, when moſt confident of its own ſtrength and ſecurity.

SECT. XI. For though Earl *Godwin* and his Sons were now in Baniſhment, yet they found ſo many Friends abroad, that they returned to *England* with a conſiderable ſtrength, both in Ships and Men, and not only made a Pyratick War, to the mighty damage and terror of all the Sea-coaſt; but about this Year they came up as far as *London* with their Veſſels and Land-Force, where they found ſo many Friends, that they were reconciled to the King; and a Promiſe was made to reſtore them and their Followers to their Eſtates and Commands: Nor did this turn of Affairs ſtop here, but was followed with the violence which uſually attends the firſt efforts of a prevailing Party; for now the caſe of *Godwin* was made a National Quarrel, and the *Engliſh* were ſo exaſperated at the ill Conduct of the *Norman* Favourites, that if their Puniſhment was not determined in the great Council which met on this occaſion, it is certain, that ſuch was the heat and fury of the prevailing Party, that the other ſide was obliged immediately to give way, and leaving *London*, were forced to fly to ſeek their Security abroad, and thoſe who but a Month before had made the greateſt Figure in the Court, now led the reſt of their Friends into Baniſhment. *Anno* 1052.

In particular, this was the caſe of *Robert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *William*, Biſhop of *London*, and *Ulf*, Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, who fled together into *Normandy* this Year; the Archbiſhop went away to *Rome*, probably, in hopes that by the Interceſſion of Pope *Leo* the Ninth, he might be reſtored to his Biſhoprick again; but whatever hopes led him thither, it does not appear, that any ſtep was ever made towards his reſtoration; but, on the contrary, returning from *Rome*, to the Monaſtery of *Jumiegè* in *Normandy*, he died there, not long after his Baniſh- *Anno* 1052.

Baniſhment; but whatever his Expectations were, the King of *England* did not think himſelf obliged to wait the iſſue, or expect a reſignation or depoſition, but, without any delay, did, the ſame Year that *Robert* left *England*, fill up his Chair; and *Stigand*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, having approved himſelf very active in making up the Breach betwixt the King and his *Engliſh* Subjects, (*a*) was, and probably for that reaſon, advanced to the See of *Canterbury*; but ſuch was the greedy and unworthy Temper of that Prelate, that he, notwithſtanding his Archbiſhoprick, ſtill retained that of *Wincheſter*, for which he is very juſtly blamed by thoſe Writers, who never thought fit to reproach the like irregular practice of *Dunſtan*, one of his Predeceſſors.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 1052.

Anno 1052. SECT. XII. As for *William*, another of the Exiles, he had the Character of a good Man, and one who had had little ſhare in the ill Councils charged upon the Archbiſhop and the *Norman* Faction; and therefore he was recalled again, and not only lived to ſee the *Norman* Conqueſt, but to make uſe of his relation to that People to do many good Offices for the City of *London*, and, in particular, in procuring them the Charter which laid the foundation of thoſe great Privileges that City enjoys to this Day; and they have been juſt to his Memory, in paying that Honour to it which he very well deſerved.

As for *Ulf*, the Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, it is ſaid, that after his Baniſhment he went to the Council of *Vercelles*, to complain to the Pope, where he diſcovered ſo much Ignorance, that he was in danger of being degraded from his Epiſcopal Office, but that his Money atoned for his Ignorance and made his Peace. This Story has ſome inconſiſtence in it ſelf, as it is related by the *Saxon Chronicle*, which places the advancement of that Prelate to the See of *Dorcheſter*, in the Year 1046; but for the moſt part our Hiſtorians fix the Death of *Eadnoth*, his Predeceſſor in the See of *Dorcheſter*, in the Year 1050, and the advancement of *Ulf* in the ſame Year; and the Council of *Vercelles* was held the ſame Year, which was two Years before his Baniſhment.

Anno 1053. As for Earl *Godwin*, who had occaſioned this turn of Affairs, he lived but a little while to reap the benefit of it, but dying the following Year he was buried in *Wincheſter*.

cheſter. It appearing by this time that there was little hopes of Iſſue from the King, and his Affairs being brought to ſome ſort of Settlement, he now began to caſt his Thoughts upon the Succeſſion; and it is very likely, that his Eyes were fixed on the *Engliſh* Line; and therefore, about this time, he ſent *Alfred*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, his Embaſſador to the Emperor, *Henry* the Second, (*a*) to deſire that he would, by his Embaſſador with the King of *Hungary*, obtain leave for *Edward*, Son to *Edmund Ironſide*, to leave *Hungary* and come over into *England*, which was accordingly done.

(*a*) *Chron.* Brompton. X *Scriptor.* *Col.* 945.

But that Prince ſurvived his return but a little while, and dying about the Year 1057, was buried in St. *Paul's* Church in *London.* He left ſeveral Children behind him, who were very little conſidered, when the Right of Succeſſion came into debate upon the Death of their Uncle; however, his return had this good effect, it gave opportunity for the Marriage of *Margaret*, (Siſter to *Edgar Etheling*, and Daughter to *Edward*, Surnamed *the Outlaw*) to *Malcolm* King of the *Scots*; and thereby to the reſtoration of the Royal *Engliſh* Line, by a Marriage of *Maud*, a deſcendant from that Princeſs with *Henry* the Firſt.

SECT. XIII. But whatever the Inclinations of King *Edward* were, though he could not but ſee whither the popularity of *Harold* tended, it does not appear that he did any thing to prevent it, or to put *Edgar Etheling* his Nephew, in a capacity to aſſert his own Right; and indeed it ſeems very likely that he was over-awed, and ſuffered his Authority to be inſulted by every Faction, and ſupported himſelf by over-looking, and ſometimes by giving way to the powerful Factions, rather than by making uſe of his Authority to keep them in their due bounds; and therefore the Factions begun in his Reign never ended till they were decided by the Sword in the next.

For the event ſhews, that although *Robert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and thoſe of that Party who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Miniſtry, were driven out of *England*; yet the *Norman* Faction did not determine in their Baniſhment, but the Biaſs on the Affections of the King, which lay on that ſide, falling in with the Intrigues of *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, ſtill kept up the Intereſt

of that Party; and it is moſt likely, that the viſit made to the King, by *William* Duke of *Normandy*, about three Years before this, was grounded on the ſame Views which in time appeared, though not fit for diſcovery, whilſt the Affections of the unbiaſſed *Engliſh* preſſed for the calling home the ſurviving Branches of the *Engliſh* Line.

Anno 1057. And it is not unlikely, that this conſideration ſealed up the Thoughts of the Duke; and if it did not determine the King on the *Engliſh* ſide, it did at leaſt keep him wavering and in ſuſpence; but *Edward the Outlaw* dying this Year, and leaving no Son but *Edgar Etheling*, a Prince, who, beſides his want of Conduct and Addreſs, had ſo many diſadvantages from his Birth and Education, that notwithſtanding his Title to the Crown, which uſually ſupplies abundance of defects, and never wants ſome Friends, yet he never made any conſiderable Figure in *England*; but, on the contrary, appeared unlikely to ſtand the ſhock of that popular Intereſt which ſupported the hopes and deſigns of *Harold*.

Theſe conſiderations added to the Affections the King bore to the *Normans*, if they did not determine the King in favour of the Succeſſion of *William*, Duke of *Normandy*; yet at leaſt they kept him from determining on the other ſide, and made him leave the ſeveral Parties to judge of his Mind, by ſome dark and uncertain Expreſſions. And if one obſerves the aſſurance with which ſome challenge the Succeſſion to *Harold*, Brother to his Queen; others to *Edgar Etheling*, Nephew to the King; others to *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, his Cozen, one can ſcarce think otherwiſe of this Affair of Succeſſion, than as left at large and undetermined by the King.

Anno 1058. SECT. XIV. Nor were Factions the peculiar Misfortune of the *Engliſh* Nation, but that Church which has vanity enough to boaſt of her Unity, and give it out as the diſtinguiſhing Mark of the true Church, was at this time ſo divided and diſtracted, that if thoſe who have had the ill luck to apply this Mark of Unity to the Church of *Rome*, had happened to live at this time, Unity would doubtleſs have been the laſt thing they had pretended to, unleſs by Unity they mean ſomething that is conſiſtent with the moſt notorious and ſcandalous Schiſm;

Schiſm; for the Church of *Rome* was now embroiled in the two and twentieth Schiſm, which is more than any other National Church, and it may be more than all Chriſtendom beſides is chargeable with.

And notwithſtanding the great eaſineſs which ſome Men pretend to in finding out the true Church, which, according to modern Notions, is a Work that cannot be done, without uniting to the Canonical Biſhop of *Rome*; yet *Stigand*, at this time Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a Prelate which though he had his Faults, and has been ill treated by ſome Writers, yet is one who on all hands is allowed to be a Man of Buſineſs and Conduct, and one who, from the *Saxon Chronicle*, has the Character of a wiſe Man (*a*), had yet the misfortune to be miſtaken in this particular, and received his Pall from *Benedict*, who is ſince ſaid to be an uſurper of the Papacy, if our Hiſtorians are not miſtaken.

(*a*) *Chron. Saxon. An.* 1052.

Baronius (*b*), and Mr. *Creſſey* place this Affair in the compaſs of this Year; and, as ſome other Writers had done before, ſpeak of this as an unpardonable Fault, and as the ground upon which ſome juſtify the Depoſition of this Prelate under the *Norman* Government; but the reaſon of the ill Uſage that Prelate afterwards met with, will be conſidered in its proper place: In the mean time, to ſet the Conduct of that Prelate in its true light, it will be neceſſary to ſay there were two Popes by the Name of *Benedict* in the compaſs of that Prelate's Time, one choſen this Year, on the Death of *Stephen*, the other choſen about the Year 1034. The former of theſe Popes is that *Benedict* from whom, as *Baronius* and Mr. *Creſſey* ſay, Archbiſhop *Stigand* received his Pall: How well this will conſiſt with *Baronius*'s Account, it will be fit to conſider.

(*b*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 1058. *N.* 18.

For, according to his Account, Pope *Stephen* the Tenth, died the twenty ninth of *March*, the Year 1058. Not long after his Death, *John*, Biſhop of *Velitri*, who took the Name of *Benedict*, was choſen in his room, and was depoſed the *January* next enſuing; ſo that unleſs *Stigand* was more than ordinary happy in his Intelligence and Diſpatch, it was impoſſible to receive his Pall from this Pope *Benedict*, the Tenth of that Name; beſides, this was ſix Years after *Stigand* came to the See of *Canterbury*; during which time, his Au-

Authority, as Metropolitan, was owned by the Church of *England*; ſo that whatever thoſe Writers get by faſtening upon *Stigand* the receiving of his Pall this Year, they will loſe in another pretence, by owning he acted ſix Years without it.

SECT. XV. But though *Baronius* and Mr. *Creſſey*, as judging it moſt to their purpoſe, think fit to ſay, that *Stigand* had his Pall from the later *Benedict*, and this on the Authority of *Malmsbury*; yet it is very plain, that *Malmsbury* does not aſcertain the Year, nor determine whether it was *Benedict* the Ninth or Tenth from whom he received it: And if the *Saxon Chronicle* fixes it in this Year, and conſequently determines in favour of the latter, yet the circumſtances of Time ſeem much better accounted for, by aſcribing this Affair to *Benedict* the Ninth: This *Benedict* was Nephew to Pope *John* the Twentieth, who dying in the Year 1033, this *Benedict*, though a Boy of about ten or twelve Years of Age, was, by the Intereſt of his Father *Alberic*, Count of *Tuſcany*, choſen Pope; and notwithſtanding this circumſtance of his Age, was, as *Baronius* ſaith, without any diſpute, owned as Biſhop of *Rome*, by the whole Chriſtian World (*a*): And although he proved one of the lewdeſt and moſt profligate Miſcreants in the World, yet he continued undiſturb'd in the Papal Chair, for near eleven Years, and, during that time, diſcharged all the Functions incumbent on a Biſhop of *Rome*; (*b*) and as *Baronius* in particular obſerves, granted ſeveral Palls to ſeveral Archbiſhops (*c*).

Anno 1058.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 1033. *N.* 7.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

And, which is more ſurpriſing, the 'foreſaid Writer obſerves it as a Mark of a more particular Providence, that notwithſtanding the notorious wickedneſs of this Prelate, the Church of *Rome* loſt no part of the veneration which had been uſually paid to it. How well this obſervation will accord with the frequent Reflections of that Writer, on the Miſeries that Church ſuffered from the wickedneſs of its Biſhops, will not deſerve inquiry; but if that Church ſtill remained invulnerable, notwithſtanding the Indignity and Contempt offered to thoſe who preſided over it, thoſe Men ought not to deſpair, who aſſert the Unity of that Church, notwithſtanding the Schiſms which ſo frequently divided it, and which lie ſo very croſs to that pretence.

But

But the Canoniſts who fall in with the *Hildebrandine* Doctrine, and whilſt they make the *Roman* Biſhops Judges of all, will not allow them to be judged of any, have a very hard Task upon their hands; for it is certain, that the Lewdneſs and Extravagancies of Pope *Benedict* the Ninth growing inſupportable, he was depoſed in the Year 1044. And *Silveſter* by one Party, and *Gregory* the Sixth by another, were put into his Chair; ſo that they who agreed in depoſing *Benedict* the Ninth, could not agree in a Succeſſor. In the mean time *Benedict* deſpiſed both Parties, and notwithſtanding his depoſition ſtill kept up his Title of Pope, and his Claim to the Papacy; ſo that when the Emperor *Henry* came into *Italy* in the Year 1046, he found no leſs than three Popes, all which held their Seats in *Rome*; *Silveſter* at St. *Peter*'s, *Benedict* at St. *Mary*'s, and *Gregory* in the *Lateran* (*a*).

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 1044. *N.* 2.

And notwithſtanding the Heats this Schiſm occaſion'd, the Popes came to an Agreement amongſt themſelves, and divided the Revenues of the Papacy; and in this Agreement the Profits ariſing out of *England* were alotted to the ſhare of *Benedict* (*b*), an alotment which gave occaſion to Mr. *Creſſey* to reflect with pleaſure on the Munificence of the *Engliſh* Nation to the Papacy, tho' at the ſame time he treats *Benedict*, to whom it was aſſigned, as a Schiſmatick.

(*b*) Ibid. *N.* 5.

However this was, the Emperor finding things in this poſture, took the quickeſt and only way to ſet them right, and in a Council he aſſembled at *Sutrium* near *Rome*, depoſed all the three Popes, and ſet up *Suidiger*, Biſhop of *Bamburgh*, in their ſtead (*c*), who took to himſelf the Title of *Clement* the Second; but no ſooner was the Emperor gone from *Rome*, but *Benedict* reſumed his Title, and by his Intereſt forced *Clement* to leave *Italy*; and *Clement* dying the Year following, *Benedict* got again into the Papal Chair (*d*), but the Imperial Intereſt put *Damaſus* in the room of *Clement*; and on his Death Pope *Leo* the Ninth, who lived to the Year 1054, but dying then, *Benedict*, who was yet living, did again attempt to reſume the Chair; and it is probable was poſſeſſed thereof from the Death of *Clement*, in the beginning of the Year 1054, till the beginning of the following Year, when the Emperor coming himſelf to

(*c*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 1046. *N.* 2. 4. 5.

(*d*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 1047. *N.* 17.

Rome, put *Victor* into the Chair; and *Stigand* being advanced to the See of *Canterbury* in the Year 1052, it ſeems much more likely that he received his Pall from that *Benedict* the Ninth, either before or during the Interval betwixt the Death of *Leo* the Ninth, and *Victor* the Second, than from *Benedict* the Tenth.

SECT. XVI. I have not ſaid this to reproach the Church of *Rome* with thoſe heavy Judgments GOD thought fit to inflict upon it, in ſuffering it to fall under the Conduct of ſuch wretched Miſcreants, as it may be no Hiſtory in the World can produce; nor to ſhame the Vanity of thoſe who at once boaſt of Unity, and yet cannot but ſay, in the words of Pope *Leo* the Ninth, that that Church had long been poſſeſſed by Mercenaries, not by true Paſtors (*a*); and as their Hiſtorians do, that for a whole Age that Church continued in the moſt diſtracted, divided, and miſerable condition that was poſſible (*b*). But I have lead the Reader into this digreſſion, to ſhew how trifling and vain the Clamours againſt Archbiſhop *Stigand* are, when it thus appears, that in the particular he is accuſed of, he ſtands juſtified by the practice of the greateſt part of the Weſtern Church, and can with no pretence be condemned by thoſe who will not allow the Right of the Emperor to put in or diſplace the Biſhops of *Rome*.

(*a*) Baron. *Annal. An.* 1054. *N.* 7.

(*b*) Ibid. *N.* 36.

But after all the noiſe which has been made upon this ſubject, it ſeems very probable that *Stigand* never had any Pall, either from Pope *Benedict* or any body elſe, but, as occaſion ſerved, he made uſe of the Pall ſent to his Predeceſſor *Robert*, and which he left behind when he fled into *Normandy*; and the great Profit the Biſhops of *Rome* had by this time learnt to make of the Pall, and the covetous Temper of *Stigand* conſidered, there is more than a little probability in it.

Anno 1058.

Nor is this conjecture only, for in the Profeſſion of *Remigius*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who had been conſecrated by Archbiſhop *Stigand*; and, upon his Depoſition, was obliged to make a new Profeſſion of Canonical Obedience to his Succeſſor *Lanfrank*; in which Profeſſion the reaſon of *Stigand*'s Depoſition is ſaid to be becauſe that Prelate had invaded the See of *Canterbury*, and made uſe of his Predeceſſor's Pall; and though he had been warned thereof, and frequently cited to *Rome*, and

and at laſt condemned and excommunicated; yet for nineteen Years he continued in his obſtinacy, and deſpiſed the Prohibitions forbidding any one to receive Orders from him, although ſuch Prohibitions had been ſent to him by the Legates of *Leo*, *Victor*, *Stephen*, *Nicolas*, and *Alexander*, ſucceſſively Biſhops of *Rome*, notwithſtanding theſe which are ſaid to be the reaſons of his depoſition after the Conqueſt, it is very evident that *Stigand* diſcharged all the Functions of a Metropolitan, and was not only owned as rightful Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* during the *Engliſh* Government, but in the beginning of the *Norman* Reign; and as ſuch conſecrated the Biſhop of *Lincoln* after the Conqueſt; ſo that whatever is ſaid about his owning a Schiſmatical Pope, and taking his Pall from him, as the reaſons of his depoſition, I doubt not but another, and that the true reaſon of his depoſition will appear, when the due order of Time calls me to conſider it; and that what is ſaid of his being depoſed, for receiving his Pall from a Schiſmatical Pope, and contemning the Authority of the Biſhops of *Rome*, is nothing elſe but trifling or corrupting our Hiſtory to ſerve the Intereſts of that Papacy.

Poſt paucos Annos Robertum Archiepiſcopum partim vi, partim inſidiis expulit, Metropolim invaſit; pallium quod ipſe à ſede Apoſtolica detulerat cum cæteris, ablatum uſurpare non metuit, quâ temeritate Romæ auditâ à Romanis Pontificibus ſæpe vocatus tandem damnatus, & excommunicatus eſt. Ipſe tamen XIX. *Annis in ſui cordis obſtinatione permanſit: quo tanti temporis intervallo præfatæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Pontifices Leo, Victor, Stephanus, Nicolaus, Alexander legatos ſuos, ſuis quiſque temporibus in Anglicam terram tranſmiſerunt, & ne aliquis ad eum ordinandus accederet Apoſtolicâ autoritate prohibuerunt.* Profeſſio Remigii Mſ. Cotton. Cleopatra. E. 1.

SECT. XVII. In the mean time, thoſe who have taken ſo much pains to poſſeſs the World with the belief, that the 'foreſaid Inſtances of *Stigand*'s contempt of the Papal Power, were the occaſion of his depoſition, would have ſerved the ſame Cauſe to much better purpoſe, had they thought fit to let us know how it came to paſs, that the whole Church of *England*, for nineteen Years together; and this for the moſt part during the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, a favourer of the See of *Rome*, ſhould, notwithſtanding all that is ſaid above, own *Stigand* as the Canonical and Rightful Primate of *England*, and join in all Acts of Communion with him; for a practice of this kind does ſo ſhock all the Pretenſions of thoſe who aſſert the indiſpenſable neceſſity of uniting and living in Communion with the Biſhop

Biſhop of *Rome*, that it will not be an eaſy Matter to perſwade the World, that the Church of *England* was at this time acquainted with any ſuch Doctrine; and an accident which happened not long after, would rather confirm this Opinion, than give one reaſon to alter it.

Anno 1060. For *Kinſius*, Archbiſhop of *York*, dying about this time, *Aldred*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, was, by King *Edward*, appointed to ſucceed him, with a Power of retaining the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, which he was before poſſeſſed of; but going to *Rome* to receive his Pall, it is ſaid that upon enquiring of Pope *Nicolas*, he appeared to be guilty of Simony, and therefore the Pope refuſed to grant him a Pall; and that the ſaid Prelate returning homeward was met with by the *Banditti*, and himſelf and Company ſtripped of all they had. This, ſaith *Malmsbury*, occaſioned their return to *Rome*: And this Misfortune, added to the denial which he had before received, ſo ſowred this Prelate and his Company, that *Foſti*, Earl of *Northumberland*, who was with him there, and had unſucceſsfully ſollicited in his Favour with great freedom, ſhewed his Reſentment in

Anno 1061. ſuch terms as makes it probable, that he ſuſtained the Character of a publick Miniſter of the King of *England*; and therefore demanded ſatisfaction of the Biſhop of *Rome*, for the loſs he had ſuſtained, and told him freely, that except that was done, and a Pall granted to the new Archbiſhop, he might expect that the King of *England* would do himſelf Right, by withdrawing of *Peter-Pence*, uſually paid to the Holy See: By this rough Addreſs the Court of *Rome* was at laſt

Anno 1062. overcome, and the new Archbiſhop returned with his Pall.

This *Aldred* was Biſhop of *Worceſter*, when nominated to the See of *York*, and deſigned to follow the irregular ſteps of ſome of his Predeceſſors, who held the Biſhopricks of *York* and *Worceſter* together; and if this, as ſome have thought, was the reaſon of that difficulty he met with in obtaining his Pall, the ſtiffneſs of Pope *Alexander* ſeems no other way blamable, than in ſuffering it ſelf at laſt to be overcome, in favour of a practice that deſerved a treatment of a harſher kind:

But

but whether it was this difficulty that awakened the Conſcience of that Prelate, or the pleaſure of the King which brought him to a better Mind; ſo it was that about this time he gave up his Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*; and *Wulſtan*, bred a Monk of *Peterborough*, and afterward Prior of *Worceſter*, ſucceeded in that See not long after the return of *Aldred* from *Rome*. *Anno* 1062.

Amongſt thoſe formidable Factions which could not but give great uneaſineſs to the gentle, peaceful Temper of King *Edward*, and entertain him with very melancholy Proſpects, this Prince is ſaid to have put himſelf under a Vow to go to *Rome* to pay his Devotions; but his Council not having the ſame Sentiments of that ſort of Devotion, and foreſeeing the ill conſequences of ſuch a Journey, whilſt the Factions of State were grown to ſuch ſtrength and maturity, that they were ſcarce capable of bounds, they perſwaded the King from an undertaking attended with ſuch viſible dangers; and, according to the way of the Age, he was prevail'd upon, if credit may be given to the Monks, to commute for the breach of his Vow, by building a Monaſtery to the Honour and Memory of St. *Peter*; and therefore ſome Years before his Death he began the building of St. *Peter*'s at *Weſtminſter*.

But before that munificent Structure could be finiſhed, Age and Infirmities grew ſo faſt upon him, that without that prophetick Spirit ſome have aſcribed to him, he could not but be ſenſible of an approaching change; and this conſideration lent new vigour to his Zeal, and haſtened on the Conſecration of that Church; and to make that more ſplendid and ſolemn, he determined to have that Office performed at the meeting of the great Council, which was convened, according to Cuſtom, to meet at *Chriſtmas* this Year; but before this Aſſembly broke up, the King died, the fifth of *January*, in the beginning of the Year 1066. *Anno* 1065. *King Edward dies.*

This Prince being dead, the Parties which had before given ſo much trouble to his Reign, now appeared uncontrolled, and the Deſigns were avowed, which had hitherto been acted in the dark: The Proſpect was diſmal and affrighting, and the Changes much greater than were apprehended; and it was not a little part *Anno* 1066.

which the Church bore in the Revolution, which not long after enſued; but before I enter upon the Story that followed the *Norman* Revolution, I ſhall ſtop a while to relieve my ſelf and the Reader, and to beg of GOD, who has led me through a difficult and laborious Work, that he would give his Bleſſing to it, and make it what I have intended it, a uſeful and inſtructive Labour.

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